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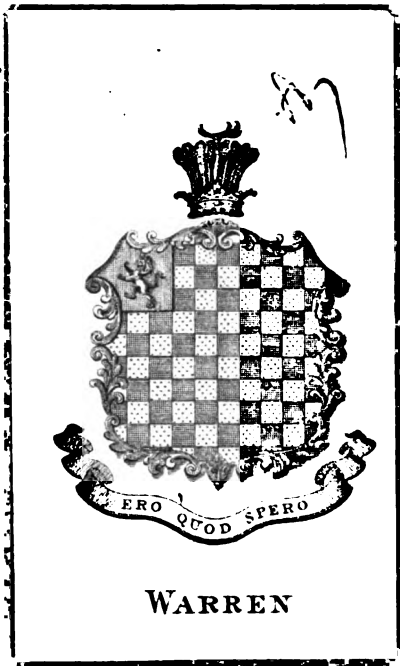
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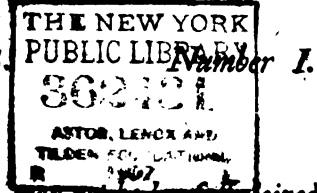
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WARREN

THE ANTI-UNION.

Thursday, 27th, December 1798.



“ IF any of you know cause or just impediment why these two may not be lawfully joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace;—this is the last time of asking.”
Prayer Book.

“ For be ye well assured, that so many as are coupled together, otherwise than as God’s word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their matrimony lawful.”

Ibid.

A FEW LOYAL AND LITERARY MEN IN LONDON, considerably checked the progress of French philosophy and domestic disaffection, by joining in a Periodical Publication, called the *Anti-Jacobin*.

This Work was written with much ability, and held up the principles of disloyalty to constant detestation and ridicule.

It is conceived by some well-wishers to Ireland, that the success of the Union, now under discussion, is intimately connected with the triumph of Jacobinism, Rebellion, and French Fraternity; and therefore, that every man who loves his King and Country is bound to counteract it by all the means in his power. For this purpose, a Periodical Paper, called the ANTI-UNION, will continue to be Published three times a week, viz. every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, so long as this fatal measure is in agitation.

There is a LETTER BOX at the Publisher’s Shop.

JAMES MOORE, No. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN; where all Communications from Correspondents will be received.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

— Sed res, si fert illa corde voluntas,
Hoc superate Jugum. Virg. Æne. lib. 6.

THE passing moment is the most awful in the history of our country. A few weeks will determine whether that Legislative independence shall continue, which, for some time

after we had acquired it, gave to us unexampled prosperity, or whether our name is to be blotted out of the catalogue of nations, and our future happiness be held as a boon from the bounty of Great Britain. If ever there was an occasion which imperiously and solemnly demanded the interference of the people, it is the present.

Every tie of public and private obligation, the love we owe to our country, the gratitude we owe to our ancestors, the regard we owe to our connections and ourselves, the duty we owe to our posterity, call on us to give the question which now agitates the national mind, a deep and mature consideration. Such a question, on which depends, not merely our welfare, but our very existence, peculiarly requires the declaration of the public opinion. It behoves the Legislators as well as the people, the governors and the governed, that the public sentiment on this subject be fully and unequivocally expressed; because it may be questioned, whether such a measure could otherwise have a legitimate sanction or obligatory force. From the multitude of publications which the press has already poured forth, we may derive, at least, this consolation, that our recent calamities have not entirely subdued our national spirit, or ~~repressed the freedom of political en-~~quiry. We may congratulate ourselves that the press is still free, and before this organ of the public voice become silent for ever, it should be employed in the public service. Under this impression, the Editors have undertaken to publish a Periodical Paper, relating entirely to the great question of an incorporated Union with England.

It is generally expected, that the Undertakers of such a work should give some account of themselves and their plan. As to ourselves, we are persons entirely disinterested in the present question, except so far as our country is interested. As to our politics, we are loyalists and constitutionalists; we are Yeomen, still ready to spill our blood in defence of a limited monarchy, and the British connexion. This we conceive to be a concise statement of the public principles of loyal Irishmen, and thinking so, we find ourselves bound by all our obligations to those principles, to resist a measure that would exchange a limited monarchy for a provincial vice-royalty, and the British connexion for a slavish annexation of our country to another or which would precipitate us into an unnatural struggle for separation, and, perhaps, finally destroy both nations.

As to the scheme of this publication, there are a few propositions upon which we feel a conviction, that we hope to communicate to others. It appears to us demonstrable, that the late calamities of our country, have not flowed from the nature of our present connexion with Great Britain; that these calamities would probably have been greater, and less curable, had we, until this time, continued in our former dependent state; that the connection proposed, in any possible modification of it, must, in substance and effect, reduce us to our former dependent condition, and that consequently while it holds out an ideal bond of amity and Union, it really and in effect teems with principles of repulsion and separation. We conceive it follows as a necessary consequence, that this cannot be a mere question of terms, and that the introduction of the measure should, in its outset, be combated by every intellectual resistance, which may have any chance of repelling so monstrous an innovation.

It is the design of the editors to contribute their efforts to awaken and rouse the public mind to a sense of its danger—and in pursuing their plan, they do not disdain to solicit friendly assistance; nor shall they deem themselves excluded from the use of any weapons which the laws of literary controversy warrant. Their first endeavour shall be, to convince the understanding of their country, by the force of reason and argument; their subordinate object shall be, to secure friends, or encounter adversaries, by the assistance of wit, and fancy, and ridicule. It is unnecessary on such a subject, to bespeak the public attention; and the editors confidently expect abundant literary communication. Indeed that intellect which has ever exercised itself in considering the course of human events, or in reasoning on the concerns of human society, must be sunk in criminal apathy, if it refuses all its energy to such a question. Let no liberal mind hoard its literary talent, and sordidly withhold what should receive public circulation.

It is with unfeigned and heartfelt concern the editors foresee, that in the progress of their work it will be necessary to discuss questions from which they would most willingly abstain. It is their comfort and consolation, that this is not a necessity of their own creating, but that it has been forcibly and wantonly imposed on them. Feeling as they do, that at this season their country required only repose, they are aware how criminal they would be to shock and convulse her frame, by the renovation of political contest; nor would they perhaps, at this time, encourage the public discussion of any question less important than that, which presents to their native country the alternative of existence or annihilation.

That question is now proposed—and among the novelties of the day, it is perhaps not the least surprising, that the intended introduction of a political measure is announced to the public, ~~at least without the discountenance of~~ government, in a publication which professes to detail the advantages which may be expected to result from carrying it into execution. Thus the controversy has commenced in the Castle, and it is but candid to acknowledge, that government has, by its example, invited a public and unrestrained investigation. If the editors required any excuse for the honest discharge of what they conceive to be a sacred duty, and the exercise of a constitutional right—they would find it, if not in the invitation, at least in the implied permission of the government. In availing themselves of this invitation, and exercising their birth-right of openly canvassing a public question, the editors will be equally solicitous to express their sentiments with manly freedom, and to avoid the slightest infringement on the laws of the land. They too well know the excellence of those laws, and the admirable principles of our constitution, not to hold them both in reverence—and their habits of thinking lead them as much to abhor the licentiousness of the Press, as to deplore and despise its slavery. They write not for literary fame; from this they are precluded by the nature of their publication. They wish not to become the advocates or fomenters of sedition; against this they have before and are

still ready to bear arms. They harbour no resentment, and feel no opposition against government. They have praised its clemency, and supported its measures—and while they disclaim every unworthy and dishonourable feeling, it will not be imputed to the editors as too much arrogance to declare, that the motive of their undertaking is a pure and disinterested desire to rescue from degradation and ruin, that country which they have ever cherished as their parent, and which contains all their present comforts, and their future hopes.

It would be inconsistent with the design and limits of this introductory paper, to enforce any argument, or descend to any detail. There is, however, one topic on which we cannot refrain from making a few observations. It has been suggested, that your present peculiar condition, instead of being a conclusive argument against disturbing the tranquillity which you have but begun to enjoy, is the operating motive for introducing at this time the measure which we deprecate. Without adopting this conjecture, it would be absurd to deny its possibility, and imprudent not to guard against its ill consequences, if true. If a design so wicked and insidious has been in contemplation; if the languor and loss of blood which you suffer from having fought the battles of the Constitution and of your King; if your present fatigue and apathy; if your fear of insurrection, and horror of treason; if terror, proceeding from your anxious loyalty, be the reasons for attempting to cajole you out of your liberties—as you are reasonable men, with honourable and spirited feelings, we implore you to counteract this detestable project,—oppose it with your wisdom and firmness; carefully examine all the promised advantages, and if malignant reports are industriously circulated, and addressed to your fears, let no unbecoming timidity prevent you from assembling in your capacity of electors, and instructing your representatives—it is a duty warranted by the law, and demanded by the constitution.

We are deeply and seriously convinced that there is no advantage promised by the measure of an incorporated Union with England, which

an independent Irish Legislature is not fully competent to provide; that in the surrender of our distinct existence, we gain little, and give all; that the commercial advantage which may result, is extremely problematical, and if certain, that the barter of constitution for money is a base and sordid traffic; that the little we may gain, there can be no security to preserve; and that for national independence there can be no earthly recompence. We profess at present only to hint our doubts, whether a Legislative Assembly, deputed to enact laws, is competent to erase the constituent franchise, and by preventing the existence of any future distinct Legislative Body, to subvert the Constitution. Warmly, but with becoming warmth, feeling as we do on this novel subject, it would be gross and culpable negligence, or despicable timidity, to refrain from publishing and propagating our opinions. Whilst the present necessity exists, we shall be indefatigable. When the government of this country shall have announced to the people, that the measure of an incorporated Union with England was never in contemplation, or is abandoned, our public labours shall cease, and we shall cheerfully return to our private amusements and occupations.

When the Emperor Galba was about to resign into the hands of Piso, the absolute dominion of the profligate and degraded Romans, his oration, which was the only solemnity of transferring the right of empire, concluded with these memorable words—“*Imperaturus es dominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt,*

nec totam libertatem.” Let us not, for our country’s sake, let us not submit to that last and most opprobrious slander, which even the degenerate Romans did not deserve. Let it not be said hereafter, that the Constitution of Ireland was so vicious and corrupt, that it could not bear the slightest infusion of liberty, and that the good of her people could only be promoted by annihilating her independence.

As in the discussion of so intense a subject as the Union, the attention of the world is in danger of becoming fatigued from over-exertion, some good-natured gentlemen have been so kind as to invent several light and interesting tales; for the relaxation of the public mind—we present our readers with a short list of the principal

L I R S OF THE WEEK.

1. The Ordnance was set on fire by the Rebels.
2. The Custom-house was blown up.
3. The Orangemen attacked the Catholics in Clarendon-street Chapel, on Christmas-day.
4. There was a bloody battle at Maynooth.
5. There was to be a general massacre the night before Christmas-day.

N. B. This last lie was so well concerted as to impose upon government, who in consequence thereof, doubled all the guards, and placed centinels on Essex-bridge.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2d.

Saturday, 29th, December 1798.

No. II.

" IF any of you know cause or just impediment why these two may not be lawfully joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter for ever hold his peace;—this is the last time of asking."

Prayer Book.

" For be ye well assured, that so many as are coupled together, otherwise than as God's word doth allow, are not joined together by God, neither is their matrimony lawful."

Ibid.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

M*UST it not be the height of folly to part with the management of our own concerns FOR EVER? This is a difficulty upon the question of an Union, suggested by your new friend, and disinterested adviser, the English under-secretary, in his celebrated pamphlet upon that subject. Listen, my countrymen; listen with patience, if you can, to the English secretary's solution of this difficulty. After an Union shall pass, he tells you, " we shall have Irishmen in the originating Cabinet of Great Britain, we shall have a number of Irish representatives, in proportion to our relative consequence, in the Parliament of the empire. Our affairs will be then discussed by our own members, in the presence of the wisest and freest assembly, which ever existed, where our interest is their interest, our prosperity their prosperity, our power their aggrandizement, and where, of course, the anxiety for our welfare must be as great in the British as in the Irish part of the Legislature."*

Are you not convinced, my countrymen, do you hesitate to execute the deed, which, while it consigns you and your posterity to the condition of eternal infancy or eternal dotage, at the same time secures to you, in perpetuity secures to you, guardians and trustees,

so pure, so disinterested, and so vigilant, that you may for ever sleep in security, and enjoy these golden dreams, which the simple English, who transact their own affairs, will be toiling to realize? With Irish advocates to plead our cause, and having for our Judges *the wisest and freest assembly which ever existed, where our interest is their interest, our prosperity their prosperity, and our power their aggrandizement,* must we not become the envy of all nations? Surely it must be faction, or spleen, or disaffection, or narrow-minded prejudice, that can raise any objection to this *new mode of administering the constitution.*

But may it not be suggested with deference to the patriot secretary, that there is a profusion of kindness to this country in the meditated arrangement? The Irish members, however their zeal for Ireland may be quickened by residence in England, and their intercourse with the originating cabinet, never can carry any Legislative measure, and as mere advocates, I doubt whether a few English barristers, as occasion might require, fee'd for the purpose, might not, with as much effect, and more œconomy, promote the Interests of Ireland, at the Bar of either House of Parliament, particularly as they would have to address them-

selves to men interested and prejudiced in favour of their clients.—I am ashamed, my countrymen, of this puny sophistry—Is it not known, that national insult is highly mischievous, and that to treat the understanding with contempt is the most galling of all insults? But we are called upon to discuss this question with temper, and however difficult a compliance may be to Irish feelings upon such a subject, we should comply.

To the objection, that our representatives cannot carry any measure in the united Legislature, from their comparative inferiority of numbers, it is answered, “that Yorkshire may equally complain.” Though I do not admit the reasoning, I adopt the case as fairly illustrative of the question. I readily admit, that from the necessary subjection of each part to the whole of a nation, such a complaint from Yorkshire would be highly absurd, and that it would be equally absurd from Ireland, *after a Legislative Union*. I go further—I do assert, that there are numerous classes of men in England, totally unrepresented in Parliament, who yet sustain no real grievance, and who have no substantial ground of complaint; the proprietor of terms for years, the copy-holder, the owner of chattle interests of every kind, and various other classes of non-electors might be enumerated. I do not say, that the elective franchise ought not to be extended to such men; but if it ought, it is upon the ground of general policy, and not that they require it for their safety or protection.

Why is Yorkshire secure, though its representatives be merged in the general Parliament, and why is the non-electors of England safe, though he be totally unrepresented? Because the English Legislature cannot have any temptation or motive to injure Yorkshire, or the non-electors of England, whose prosperity and security must depend upon the condition of the nation at large. This appears to me to be so plain, that I am of opinion, that a county of England might be totally disfranchised with little or no detriment, except what it might

suffer in common with the rest of the nation, from the dangerous precedent, and the possible future abridgement of the representation of England, to a degree inconsistent with the liberties of the nation, and the principles of the British constitution.

But when it is admitted, that each component part of an incorporated nation must submit to the uncontrollable supremacy of the whole, and that any given county of England would be safe under such supremacy, even though it were totally unrepresented, does it follow that Ireland ought voluntarily to form a connection, to which such subjection and dependence must be necessarily incident? Or, (which must determine the former question) have we, from a fair review of past events, and a candid examination of our present state, reasonable ground, independent of the patriot secretary's assurance, to conclude that the British parliament would feel towards us, as towards an Englishshire, and consider *our interest as their interest, our prosperity as their prosperity, our power as their aggrandizement?* if we have not, it must, indeed, be *the height of folly, to part with the management of our own concerns for ever.*

The advocates for an Union, are so sensible of this, that they contend, that it necessarily flows from the nature of a Legislative Union, and is a political axiom not requiring proof (they certainly have not as yet offered any) that after such an Union Ireland being identified in interest and Constitution with Great Britain, must be equally attended to, and equally cherished, by the common Legislature. I confess I am so dull, and so unenlightened, by Castle logic, that I cannot perceive, either intuitively or demonstratively, the truth of this proposition. It certainly is not universally true, that all countries Legislatively United, or incorporated, must have a common interest; and that the common Legislature must equally consult the prosperity of every part. I shall put a case:—Would the Legislative incorporation of America with Great Britain, by admitting deputies from the

former into the British Parliament, produce the alleged effect? America thought otherwise, and received the project (for it was projected,) with derision. Would a Legislative, or an incorporate Union (the world is much given to metaphor, which often leads to error) between France and England, so identify their interests, that equal culture and protection would certainly follow? Certainly not; the habits and sentiments which prevailed for centuries, would not vanish before the magic of a name; and the greater country would be every thing, and the lesser country nothing. Identity of interest, mutually and clearly felt and understood, should be the antecedent cause, the basis and foundation of every such Union, and not chimerically pursued as its fruit and consequence. The best writer in support of an Union, has told you, that *the generosity of nations is the dream of fools*. Perhaps the same opinion might be pronounced of their *unfashioned justice*. Whatever in sound policy and enlightened wisdom might be the truth of the case; if the superior country conceived it to be her interest to oppress or impoverish the inferior, the latter would be oppressed and impoverished. No human precaution could prevent it, and nothing but revolution could redress it.

But we are told, that after an Union the laws enacted will be *universal*, equally affecting the three united nations, and consequently equally benefiting them. Here again you are attempted to be imposed upon by a sound. Who will guarantee that all future laws will be universal? But suppose it sufficiently secured, does it follow that a commercial regulation, which will benefit England, must benefit Ireland equally—or that Ireland cannot be injured by a tax or a restriction upon any branch of manufacture or commerce, by which England will not be equally wounded? Would it be impossible, for instance, to enact a law, or impose a tax, which should purport equally to bind any manufacturer of linen, or of woollen, or of cotton, in the united nations,

without producing the same effect in each country? As long as from climate, soil, accident, or habit, different manufactures shall be in a different state of culture in each country—that is as long as the world will last—it will be easily practicable for the dullest Chancellor of the Exchequer to crush the commerce of our nation, without affecting Great Britain, except as far as she will be interested in our general prosperity, by laws and regulations which will be nominally and apparently equal and universal.—Illustrations are obvious, and would be endless.

These principles are derived from the immutable nature of man. Weigh them well, my countrymen—consult your history, and examine your prospects calmly, and firmly, and then decide whether you ought, in an hour of affliction, in a paroxysm of despair, to renounce all your boasted and fruitful acquisitions in commerce and constitution, and consign your posterity for ever to the guardianship of Great Britain—to rely implicitly upon her good faith, her sisterly affection, her sympathy, or her self-love.

Is it, my countrymen, really and in truth the case, that the identity of interest after an Union must be so clearly felt and understood by Great Britain, that she never can conceive it possible that she could be exalted, while you are degraded? You are not confined to delusive theory, or fableish conjecture, upon that subject. You have long lived under the fostering protection of a supreme Legislature over both countries; and you have survived it. During that dismal period, that more than polar night, even while the Legislative supremacy of Great Britain was controuled by a National Senate—more controuled than under any modification of an Union it can possibly be in future—what was your condition? Did you really grow with the growth; and flourish with the prosperity of Great Britain? If I answer this question; if I enter into a detail of your situation for

centuries, under a more secure arrangement than that proposed, the Patriot Secretary will say I am intemperate; I am factious; I am inflaming the people to sedition; I am insinuating ideas dangerous to the connection with Great Britain.

To the present safe and honourable connection, I am persuaded the virtue, talents and property of the nation, with very little exception, are devotedly attached. But I am equally convinced that a recurrence of the state of sordid dependence, from which we so lately emerged, or of a similar state, even under the most plausible guise, would alienate the affections of this country for ever; and that the projectors of an Union, while they are imposing ideal bonds of connection, are sowing the seeds of lasting disgust and alienation. The dullest man must soon see, if he has not already seen it, that a Legislative Union will leave us in a more dependent and unprotected state, than we were in before the Volunteers of Ireland (as the Patriot Secretary states it) *took advantage of the distresses of the Empire, to assert the independence of our Parliament.* The comparison is simple and easy. There is something common, and something peculiar in each state. By the latter, their relative value must of course be estimated. The British Parliament, consisting of five hundred British Senators, may be truly considered in each system, as the common fountain of power. In each state there is a peculiar corrective to this power. In our former dependent state, three hundred Irishmen, exercising what may be called a concurrent jurisdiction within the heart of this kingdom, restrained the excesses of that power, and finally shook off its supremacy, without a convulsion. In our new connection, at the utmost one hundred probably of the same three hundred will be blended with the five hundred British Senators; and if they are so disposed, will have an opportunity of trying their powers of persuasion in favour of Ireland. I cannot hesitate to prefer the former corrective to the latter; and rather than submit to an Union, I would implore the Legislature to re-ena& the

6th Geo. I. and leave us in possession at least of our former Constitution.

What a sad alternative has the rashness of a few political projectors, imposed upon every loyal and feeling subject of this realm, who sincerely loves British connection and Irish liberty, and knows and feels that they are compatible, and who shrinks from the dreadful necessity of making an election between them? If we are compelled to speculate, upon what the conduct of Great Britain, and the condition of Ireland probably will be, after our independent Legislature shall be abolished, must we not enquire how these things were, before it was established? And if we do enquire (may God avert the necessity)—shall we not enquire with freedom, as long as we are freemen? I shall so far at present submit to the Patriot Secretary, as to postpone this enquiry. The desperate project may be relinquished. It may become the duty, as it is the wish, of every loyal Irishman, to bury in oblivion past melancholy details. The memory of our misfortunes may, no doubt, become a shield to protect us against their recurrence; but like the obsolete armour of our ancestors, it should be left to the rust of time, and not brought into use, but upon the last necessity.

X.

A QUERY FOR CASUISTS.

Doctor M'Kenna's pamphlet argues, that an Union is necessary, to protect the Catholics from the Orangemen.

The pamphlet, *Union or not, by an Orangeman*, argues, that an Union is necessary to protect the Orangemen from the Catholics.

The pamphlet ascribed to the Secretary, argues, that an Union is necessary for both the above purposes.

Query—which of the three arguments is true?

M. B.'s song is too personal; the *M. S. S.* will be left wherever the author directs.

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No. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

THE ANTI-UNION.

Price 20.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 1, 1799.

No. III.

SHALLOV.—“ I will marry her, Sir, at your request; but if there be no great love in the beginning, yet heaven may decrease it upon better acquaintance, when we are married, and have more occasion to know one another; I hope, upon familiarity, will grow more contempt: but if you say, MARRY HER, I will marry her, that I am freely dissolv'd, and dissolutely.”

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

THE Story told in the following Letter, may, perhaps, appear to be rather the detail of a domestic grievance, than a matter connected with the design of this Paper; yet, as it represents the distresses of a female and an Irishwoman, we could not refuse it admission.

SIR,

I AM a young woman descended of a very ancient family, but owing to the thoughtlessness of my ancestors, and some foolish disputes between them, aggravated by obstinate litigation, as to the title of a small family estate, I was at a very early period of life, thrown, as I may say, upon the world, with little more than youth, health, and a good temper, to support me. I set up a shop furnished with but a few trifling articles, and although I encountered many difficulties, my situation gradually improved, and in the course of a few years, I began to think of enlarging my trade, and bettering my condition. The chief obstacle I had to encounter in this, was the jealousy and ill-nature of a distant relation by the mother's side, who lived at no great distance from me, and who had taken advantage of my infancy and poverty, to treat me as a mere dependant, and to counteract all my efforts for opulence and comfort. These pretensions of his arose from the natural pride and imperiousness of his disposition, joined to a sordid and dishonest wish to get possession of my family estate, to which he had no other claim, than that

it lay contiguous to his own; and that we both held under the same landlord. At the particular period which I have already alluded to, my project of more extended commercial dealings, alarmed all his bad feelings; our trade was of the same kind, I was placed in a situation more convenient for customers, and although my capital was smaller, yet as I was subject to less house rent, he apprehended I might deal on more advantageous terms. He insisted therefore, that I should submit all my affairs to his management, that I should not engage in any business without his permission, and that all my receipts and expenditures, should be regulated by persons of his appointment, and accountable merely to him. These proposals were so preposterous and unjust, that I positively refused to comply with them; and having now got some money, and many friends, who were all hearty in my cause, I spoke out boldly to Mr. Bull, and told him plainly, that he must not intermeddle in my concerns; that I was willing to live on terms of friendship with him; as relations should do, and that he might probably find his account in such a commerce, but that if he would attempt to force me into compliance, his friends and mine, must try whose heads were hardest.

These representations had so great an effect, that in the year 1783, he bound himself by a deed under his hand and seal, never to interfere with me or my business, but that I should have the exclusive management of, and dominion over it. This satisfaction, and, as I then thought, unimpeachable security on his part,

produced the fullest return of friendship and confidence, on mine;—my trade, under my own management, rapidly increased, my knowledge of business ripened, my capital doubled, many of the incumbrances on my estate were cleared off, the tenants who used to be at constant logger-heads, forgot their animosities, and paid their rents punctually, and I indulged myself in the fond hope of years of comfort and prosperity before me.—Nor had my kinsman any reason to be uninterested in my good fortune, for, as I am naturally of an open and generous heart, I felt warm gratitude to him, for doing me no injury, and was always ready to assist him with my credit and friends; indeed to borrow a phrase from Mr. Sampson's Pamphlet on the Union,* “my interest was his interest, my prosperity his prosperity, and my power his aggrandizement;” inasmuch so, that tho' he had disgusted one of his own nearest relations, and most valuable connections, by the same mercenary and tyrannical conduct, which he had manifested towards me, and had forced him totally to renounce all bonds of alliance with him; yet still I remained so closely attached to him, and by my heartiness in his cause, especially in his shipping business, did him so much service, that his best friends acknowledge, he would have made a sorry figure without me. Well! so far as it depended upon me, things might have gone in the same happy way to this hour; for although I am persuaded that Mr. Bull never was sincere in his accommodation with me, even at the time when he signed the deed (he having, in fact, made an attempt to violate it, in two or three years after its execution,) yet still I would, for peace sake, have submitted to some imposition, and would have trusted to my own temper and vigilance, to prevent any serious rupture.—But he is now bringing matters between us, to an extremity which makes it necessary for me to take a decided part.

It seems that for some time past he has en-

* *Arguments for and against an Union considered*—now known to be written by Counsellor Sampson, notwithstanding the contradiction thereof in Saunders's News-Letter.

gaged in a course of very ridiculous extravagance, and wasted a great part of his property in groundless litigation. This has been partly owing to his haughty, purse-proud temper, but principally to the ill-advised, chimerical plans, of a Head Clerk, whom he has employed in his office, and to whom he has committed the management of all his affairs, with a blind and unaccountable infatuation. This person, whose father was very worthy and respectable, and who set out in life himself, with a good character, has played the strangest set of pranks that ever were thought of by mortal man. To describe to you the dance he has led Mr. Bull, would be an endless task, vapouring about economical expenditure, and increased revenue, till he has left him without a guinea, and swagging in support of the relations of amity and peace, till he has involved him in deadly variances with all his neighbours—suffice it to say, that he has so bewildered the mind, and fatigued the body, and exhausted the wealth, of his unfortunate employer, that from a reasonable, healthy, affluent man, he has become a flimsy invalid, and in point of credit, little better than a kite-flyer. But to come to what chiefly concerns myself:—This adventurer, finding that all his projects are nearly blown up, and dreading the fatal consequences which must ensue from an abrupt disclosure to Mr. Bull and his family, of the miserable extremity to which he has reduced them, has formed the scheme of getting possession of me and all I am worth, in the hope of making what they call a stop-gap of me, and so protracting, for a while, the inevitable hour of his own disgrace and punishment.—For this unworthy purpose, he has contrived to introduce into my house, a set of his own creatures whose object is to excite dissension amongst the family.—One, in particular, who called himself a Cook, but really had been a scullion in Mr. Bull's family, I was prevailed on to hire as a shop boy, tho' he was very ragged, and had no discharge to produce; and notwithstanding his being very useless, and very faucy, yet having taken him through folly, I kept him through charity; but bitter cause indeed have I to repent my indif-

cretion in this particular, for I have discovered that this wretched creature, tho' he neither knows how to speak or write, yet by the force of impudence and cunning, and by means of a false key to my till, has been able to corrupt many of my domestics, to sow the most virulent animosities amongst others, and to blacken my reputation with numbers of credulous and simple people. Some of my servants he has persuaded (by infusing groundless fears and jealousies into their minds) to put on orange liveries, and to threaten death and destruction to the rest; those others again, by similar misrepresentations, he has induced to array themselves in green, and to commit the most horrible excesses, and others he has actually and openly paid with my own money, to aggravate and perpetuate the quarrels between the two former—but this is a mere prelude to the remainder of his plan, for I have discovered that this complicated system of vice and treachery, has been adopted merely for the purpose of compelling me to marry Mr. Bull; and this contemptible wretch, has had, within these few days, the presumption to avow to me all his enormities, and to tell me that he has so impaired my means, blasted my character, and exasperated my family, that I have no resource but in the match, nay, he has actually been base enough, to publish an advertisement, informing all my friends, that I have been debauched by Mr. Bull, through his procurement, and lived in a state of gross prostitution with him, for many years past. If this were true, need I comment on the treachery of disclosing the past, and the meanness of proposing the future connection.

But sir, conceive, I beg of you, the ridiculousness of this overture. I to marry Mr. Bull! Mr. Bull, whom, in the year 1783, when he was tolerably vigorous, and reasonably wealthy, and well reputed, I would have rejected with contempt! Mr. Bull, now that he has had repeated fits of the falling sickness, and that a commission of bankrupts is ready to issue against him!—I could not have believed the proposal serious, if the old gentleman himself had not gravely avowed it. Hear, I beg

of you, the inducements which he holds out to me. There is to be no cohabitation, for we are still to continue to live on different sides of the water—no reduction of expences, for our separate establishments are to be kept up—all my servants to be paid by me, but to take their orders from him—the entire profits of my trade to be subjected to his management, and applied in discharge of his debts—my family estate to be assigned to him, without any settlement being made on me or my issue, or any provision for the event of a separation. He tells me, at the same time, that I am to reap great advantages, the particulars of which he does not think proper to disclose and that, in the mean time, I must agree to the match, and that a settlement shall hereafter be drawn up agreeable to his directions, and by his lawyers. This, you will say, is rather an extraordinary *carte blanche*, from an insolvent gentleman, passed his grand climactic, to a handsome young woman of good character and easy circumstances. But this is not all; the pride of the negotiation is equal to its dishonesty, for, though I am beset and assailed in private, and threatened with actual force if I do not consent to this unnatural alliance, yet, in order to save the feelings of the Bull family, and to afford a pretext for an inadequate settlement, I am desired, in despite of all maidenly precedent, to make the first public advances, and to supplicate, as a boon, that he will gratify my amorous desires, and condescend to receive me and my appurtenances under his protection. Still one of the principal features of this odious transaction remains to be detailed; would you believe it, that this old sinner, several years ago, married a lady, who, though of harsh features and slender fortune, was of honourable parentage and good character, and who is, at this hour, alive, and treated by him with every mark of slight and contumely; and it is worthy of observation, that many of the clauses in the articles, which were very carefully drawn up previous to his marriage with this lady, have been scandalously violated by him.

Some few of my friends at first teized me to yield to this scandalous proposal, partly appro-

hending that the animosities between my servants in the Orange and Green liveries, cannot be in any other manner subdued, and, partly conceiving that this is the only method by which I can avoid a marriage with another person who has, for some time, affected an honourable passion for me. In both these opinions, however, I have satisfied them they are mistaken. As to the first, these foolish badges have been encouraged for the very purpose of promoting Bull's match; and, I am sure, by proper remonstrances, and indulgent treatment, on my part, I can easily persuade all those who regard me to lay them aside; indeed, I think I perceive them already deserting them, in consequence of their seeing into the designs of those who at first instigated them; but the truth is, the great bulk of my adherents never adopted either of them; and, I am convinced, are heartily attached to my interests, and ready, if necessary, to lay down their lives to preserve me in my present independent state. As to the second reason, I am not in any danger from the proposals of marriage made to me from another quarter. I know too well the mercenary and dishonourable views of that person to listen to him for a moment. I have before my eyes the examples of the wretched victims, some of whom he has forceably violated, others whom he has seduced under specious promises, and all of whom he has reduced to a state of vice and poverty. I thank God I am in no danger either from his violence or artifices. The truth is, I am determined to live and die a maiden, and I now apply to you merely for advice as to what is the most effectual method of protecting myself in that resolution. If my object was merely to get rid of Bull, the shortest way would be to marry him; as such an unnatural union must very soon end in separation and divorce, but I have no such view, for, ill as I have been treated, I have no wish to break off all connection with an old acquaintance and relation, neither will I listen to the advice of those who bid me get into a passion, and break Bull's windows, and tar and feather my shop-boy,

(though I confess this latter part holds out strong inducements.) On the whole, I am convinced, that the true line of conduct for me to adopt, is, a firm and a temperate one. I will resolutely reject the proposed match, and let my kinsman see the wickedness and folly of it. I will appeal to him and his friends against the frenzy of his clerk; and, above all, I will lay my grievances before our head landlord, who has been always just and gracious to me, and I will rely on him for full protection. But if, after all, the Bulls will not suffer me to live on friendly terms with them, and will still persist in their dishonest practices in my family, I will turn out their adherents, (whom I well know) and, in all events, I will restore my shop-boy to his original rags and insignificance, and send him to the place from whence he came. I will re-establish harmony amongst all those who should naturally be my friends; and if the Bulls should attempt to offer me any insolence, I trust I shall be able to repel force by force.

I am, Sir,

Your afflicted, but determined humble servant,
SHEELAGH.

A QUERY FOR CASUISTS.

The Irish Bar appear clearly to have been corruptly interested, as parliamentary speculators, in their declaration against an Union, but they were not unanimous, the division being 166 to 32.

Now, the Corporation of Dublin were unanimous against it.—For their numbers see Almanack.

The Merchants and Bankers were unanimous against it—about 300 men.

The Attornies were unanimous against it—about 400.

Query.—How much more corrupt *exactly* are the aforesaid bodies than the Bar?

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Editors acknowledge the receipt of several excellent favours, which, in many parts, bear a close resemblance to the foregoing paper; they shall, however, in due time, receive admission.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1799.

No. IV.

SEALLOW.—“ I will marry her, Sir, at your request ; but if there be no great love in the beginning, yet heaven may decrease it upon better acquaintance, when we are married, and have more occasion to know one another ; I hope, upon familiarity, will grow more contempt : but if you say, MARRY HER, I will marry her, that I am freely dissolved, and dissolutely.”

MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF CORK.

Tros Tyrivse mihi nullo discrimine agetur,

IF ever a political measure was recommended to a country, upon one principle, more corrupt and insidious than all others, it is the attempt to reconcile this great Nation to an UNION, by shewing such a change to be exclusively advantageous to some parts of it, at the expence of the rest. This has been practised upon you, and as it is impossible that you could adopt any conduct more immoral and infatuated, than to consider your individual interests in contradistinction to those of your country ; the men who have so argued with you, must have been prepossessed with a conviction, that you were as selfish and unprincipled as themselves. He who now addresses you, knows you to be otherwise ; he remembers your conduct upon all public occasions, for many years. He can recall to his mind, no exhibition of Irish Loyalty or Patriotism, in which the City of Cork was not a prominent figure in the picture. Perhaps were he to descend from the elevated and extensive view, which this great question presents to him, and individualize his feelings upon this subject, he would identify his interests with yours, but he must belie all his experience, and all his prejudices, before he can join in that slander of your character, which would represent you as seeking to aggrandize yourselves at the expence of your

country. The single man who sells his country for private emolument, is by common consent branded with disgrace, and consigned to infamy. Believe me, the taint is not abated, because the infection is extended, and that the sordid principle is the same, whether it affects a city, or an individual. Nor is it vice alone, folly has a large interest in such conduct. One city, or two, flourishing, and a country sinking!—Cork thriving, and Ireland sinking! These are, be assured, monstrous combinations of inconsistent ideas, as offensive to the intellect of a wise man, as they are shocking to the principles of a good one. They are the visions of greedy ignorance. I shall, through the medium of this publication, address a few papers to you upon this interesting subject. Hereafter, I shall offer some details on commercial and other subjects. This Letter shall be confined to a few general topics, equally applicable to all parts of the kingdom.

An Union is said by some, to be necessitated by the peculiar exigencies of the present times, and by others, it is stated as recommended by positive and original benefits connected with it. Our present situation is a bad one, but will a wise man confine himself to the one consideration of abstract change, and pass by the more important question, whether, and how, the change is to be for the better? Let us candidly review our grievances; and see how the projected alteration can affect them. French ambition and intrigue, connected with domestic disaffection, labours to effect a separation from Great Britain, and to establish Republicanism. A loyal Gentry, almost unanimously attached to Monarchy, and

the British connection have co-operated with the fleets and armies of England to resist the desperate combination. Hitherto they have resisted it with success, but the hostile spirit is still un-suppressed. I believe this is a fair statement of the present situation of Ireland.

France seeks to aggrandize herself and dismember the British empire. It is idle to imagine that the projects of a foreign enemy can be in any manner affected by such an internal regulation of our political œconomy, and as long as all the other motives of the undertaking remain, I cannot suppose France to desert her enterprize, merely because the Irish nation is represented in Westminster instead of Dublin.

The objects of the United Irishmen are simply these;—they detest monarchy, church establishment, and the British connection—they seek a separate Republic. They affect to say, that they have been led to adopt such extreme and violent politics, by the excess of some constitutional grievances, the inequality of our representation, the establishment of the religion professed by the minority of the people, the preference which the sister kingdom obtains by the means of influence, and other alledged imperfections, which they state, as rendering a revolutionary change, and a democracy, desirable alternatives.

I am at a loss to discover how an Union is to reclaim those persons; for that they will be reclaimed is the proposition contended for, inasmuch as the physical force of the empire, which has hitherto conquered them, is equally competent to do so under all forms and modifications of the connection between the countries. It has often been justly argued, that such a party could not be conciliated by concession. The opposite direction of pursuits—the want of a community, or identity of objects, have been considered as forming an insuperable bar to their conciliation, and yet the same persons who thus reasoned, now contend, that the men who could not be conciliated may be metamorphosed by a measure which will leave all

the causes and the pretexts of their hostility undiminished, if not exaggerated. Under an Union the monarchical form of government must continue—the protestant religion will remain established—the countries will remain un-separated—the theory of a pure representation will be at least as far removed from the practice of Westminster, as of College-green. The influence of England will have been exchanged for its dominion, and I assert, that the relative position of both parties will remain precisely the same, unless, perhaps, the disgust (whether justified or not) which the innovation shall produce, may detach some parts from that combination of national loyalty, without which, the physical force of the empire might have been, in the late conflict, fruitlessly exerted. I have taken up too much time in arguing what is so plain. I have been compelled to it by the prevalence of a delusive and absurd opinion, artfully encouraged—*that an Union must necessarily restore tranquillity!* Giddy and precipitate fear never reasons, but exclaims—*any thing for quiet.* I wish to check this cant of folly and terror. I remember an idiot, whose clothes caught fire; ordinary relief was at hand, but he leaped into the sea to extinguish the flames—the idiot was drowned.

A MUNSTER MAN.

THE
G O O S E
WITH THE
G O L D E N E G G S.

A FABLE.

A CLOWN had once a goose, we're told,
That laid each day an egg of gold;
Such birds, whatever, Æsop says,
Are no wise common in our days;

Yet still the story may be true,
 The Clown his goose's value knew.
 In his own house he lov'd to pet her,
 He fed her well, he watch'd her better;
 And thought his pains not ill repaid,
 By getting every egg she laid.
 Much tho' he got, we do not find
 He flung his fortune to the wind;
 But prudent, he, his daily prize,
 To comfort and to use applies.
 He makes his cabin snug and warm,
 Buys winter store, and stocks his farm;
 His thriving, and his goose were found
 The envy of his neighbours round.

What evils human life betide?
 The Clown was still unsatisfied;
 And oft his discontent was stirr'd
 By the slow bounty of his bird.
 An egg a day from such a store!
 And gone so soon!—Why not lay more?
 You'll not believe it, when I tell ye,
 He cast his eyes upon her belly;
 And many a time his heart would jump,
 To seize his treasure in a lump;
 And not waste time, and tire his legs,
 In seeking daily for his eggs;
 Nor great part of his profits lose,
 In cares and keeping of his goose.

It happen'd—O, the sad event!
 The Clown was press'd to pay his rent;
 For, as I have already told,
 He daily spent his egg of gold;
 And e'en for more had great occasion,
 For he was deep in speculation.
 The agent would not brook delay,
 John had it, and was forc'd to pay.
 What could he do? Or how refuse?
 He seiz'd his hopes—his golden goose.
 Ungrateful brute!—His bloody knife
 Deprives his precious bird of life.
 His urgent wants, and avarice,
 Into her entrails scrutinize;
 And ev'ry fibre quick explore,
 Impatient for th'expected store;
 In vain he strains his eager sight,
 To catch the treasure's golden light:

No shining metal blest his eyes,
 No golden treasure is his prize;
 Where'er his murderous hand he puts,
 He only meets with blood and guts;
 And embryo eggs, his future gain,
 Could he his cruel haste restrain;
 The clown in late repentance rued,
 His folly and ingratitude.
 His dreams of avarice are fled,
 His hopes are gone, his goose lies dead:
 His goods are sold, his lands are seiz'd:
 His envious neighbours all are pleas'd.

SHEELAGH BULL.

A TALE.

Translated from the original German, of the celebrated BURGER, Author of Lenora, &c.

I.

“DEAR Sheelagh!—’tis our nuptial hour,
 “I have thee snug within my pow’r,
 “Nay, Sheelagh! do not look so sour!
 “Haste to our Bridal Supper!
 “Come to my arms, my daggled lass!
 “O’er the salt waves, must Sheelagh pass—
 “Myself will guide thy long-ear’d ass,
 “And thou shalt grasp the crupper.

II.

“Hence, from the pike-men! haste away!
 “Lo! on yon shore the bridesmen stay,
 “Five hundred squires in meet array;
 “And thou shalt bring an hundred.*
 “Mix’d with my squires, thy squires shall dine,
 “And every squire *shall vote like mine,*”
 “Quoth Sheelagh—“This is very fine—”
 And so she stared and wonder’d.

* GENERAL.—Here do you keep a hundred knights and squires;

Be then desired

By her, who else will take the thing she begs,
 Of fifty, to disquantity your train.

KING LEAR, ACT I. Scene XIV.

III.

" Full twenty of thy Barons bold,"
 Quoth he, " with mine shall be enroll'd,
 " Their pockets all well-lined with gold."

" Better!" quoth she, " and better!

" But, Sir, my name will be accurst,
 " Giving thee all, for best or worst—
 " Do, let me ask my children first."

But John Bull would not let her.

IV.

Her Squires, that saw the doubtful wife,
 To make their mistress John Bull's strife,
 Thought they should lead a merry life,

With such an honest fellow:

So stuck her on the ass astride,
 And tied her legs on either side,
 Then, " Long live Sheelagh Bull!" they cried,
 As loud as they could bellow.

V.

The thunder roars—the lightning flies—
 Her children yell, with piercing cries,
 While to the shore poor Sheelagh hies,
 Enthron'd aloft on ass-back:

John to his vessel welcomes both,*
 Kisses his Sheelagh, somewhat loth;
 And makes her take her corp'rat oath,
 That she will never pass back.

VI.

From that sad hour, no tongue may tell,
 To the fair bride, what fate befel;
 Some say they heard her passing-bell,

But John swears that's a fable.

Her Squires are fat, her Barons gay;
 When John says *Yes*, why so do they;
 And they feed heartily each day,
 At Johnny's well-spread table.

* *Bald*—i. e. The Ass and Sheelagh. It is a remarkable stroke of delicacy in the Poet, that John Bull kisses Sheelagh, though in a former stanza, he calls her a *daggled lass*, and thereby shews the strength of his passion, by which he was enabled to overcome his natural love of cleanliness. It is observable, that though he welcomes the ass, he does not kiss it.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 5, 1799.

No. V.

TO THE
EDITORS of the ANTI-UNION,

GENTLEMEN,

I AM a plain man, and from my infancy have been bred up to business. I look upon the character of a Merchant to be one of the highest and most independent in the nation, and all my pursuits and objects, have been in the commercial line.—I am no politician, but love our most gracious Sovereign, respect his Ministers, and obey his Laws. It is neither suitable to my talents or profession, to look into matters deeper than as they concern myself. When I heard first, that an Union of the Parliaments of England and Ireland was to be obtained, and that Ireland was to get vast trading advantages, as a reward for letting her part of the Legislature sit in London—I own it made me very happy. It was said that the same commercial benefits, which have made England the richest and most powerful nation in the world, were to be given to Ireland, in consequence of an Union. I confess I could not conceal my joy, and I began to speculate on amazing prodigious wealth. My Partner, who is a man of much prudence and knowledge, smiled at my rhapsodies, and asked me, “What precise plan I had formed for extending our trade upon any farther commercial advantages, that may be granted to this country, by the English Parliament?” “I am not prepared yet,” said I, “I have not had time to calculate. but I am sure there must be many sources of wealth open to English Merchants, that we are deprived of, all of which we should obtain by an Union.—My Partner replied, “That he would not enter into the merits of an Union, upon any principle at present, but that of commerce, and of the further advantages in that line, that might be granted to Ireland in consequence of

it. He said, that already we possessed every benefit that England could bestow, except a very few, and these trifling; that when an Union was talked of long ago, England had much to give us in compensation for it; and we, without reflecting, now adopt the same argument, tho' circumstances are totally changed. England has already, and with a liberality for which we ought to be grateful, given up to us every thing, that then might (by some) be considered as a fair price for an Union. That we had now a free and direct trade to all the world, as perfect as England—England and the East Indies alone excepted—that as to the East Indies, we have already more privileges of commerce there, than any of the great trading towns of England—for that some of the outward bound India ships were permitted regularly to touch at Cork, and take on board a certain number of tons weight of our goods. That if Ireland was allowed to trade directly to India, it was what she was quite incapable of. That even to the India Company, the mere trade did not pay its expences and their establishments, and was profitable only as the means of bringing home the immense produce of their territorial possessions. That Ireland stood at this moment in the same situation with respect to the East Indies with all England, except the chartered East India Company; of which, however, her Merchants could equally with those of London, become Members. As to the direct trade to England, or as it is commonly called, the Channel trade—it is in that alone, that it is possible to give us any further benefits. But let us see what they are, and how the case stands now, without an Union. We have already some little advantage, as to the West India trade, by our local situation, and all restrictions whatever on it, have lately been taken off. By a construction of a clause in the Navigation Act, and by other Statutes, the Irish were prohibited from carrying Plantation Goods to Britain, either from the West Indies

or Ireland. This was a great restriction, indeed, on our West India trade; but, by a late Act of Parliament, this is done away; and now Irish ships have the same privileges as English; and a Cork merchant can now send his ship to Jamaica, load her with sugar, rum, &c. &c. send her to Bristol, or bring her to Cork, and, if he finds that market over-stocked, he can send her to Liverpool, or any other English port where his goods will be admitted on the same terms as if they came direct from the West Indies to Britain, and in an English ship. No grant of the English legislature can add a further privilege to this, and you have the plantation trade as free and open now, as it is possible to give it to you.

“Certainly, between England and Ireland there are some mutual restrictions still remaining, but I think that those which England has imposed on Irish goods imported into England are not of so much consequence as it is usually imagined, for, in general, they are laid on articles we have no probability of ever being able to send them.” “How?” said I, “and what are they? Surely the moderation of our taxes, the conveniences of fuel and water, but, above all, the cheapness of provisions, and, consequently of labour, may enable us, in time, to rival England in many articles, that we are now prevented sending her by legal restrictions.” My partner replied—“Do you know what these prohibited articles, or, articles loaded with duties equal to a prohibition, are?” I said not. “Then,” said he, “I will enumerate them to you, at least all those that are of the smallest possible consequence. They are hats, rape, and linseed oil; hard-ware, earthen-ware, coals, cheese, woollen cloths, glass bottles, printed linens, glass ware, wrought ivory, velvet, stockings, vinegar, iron, feathers, mixed cotton and linens, sail-cloth, cordage, beer, soap, starch, leather, refined sugars, candles, gun-powder, cyder, hops and wrought silks. For which of these shall we exchange our exports of beef, butter, pork, and wheat? or which of these think you will the Northern merchant prefer to his linen trade?”

You see the greater number of them deserve no notice; they are commodities that we are obliged now to procure for our own consumption from England, though loaded with some duty, (generally 10 per cent.) and with the expence of freight, insurance, commission, &c. Of this description, are coals, hard-ware, refined sugars, hops, cheese, earthen-ware, wrought silks, and superfine cloths, &c. Could we send slow manufactured, and expensive silks for the changeable taste of a London market, to vie with the ready and ingenious artist of Spital-fields, who is on the spot, and can take advantage of every fluctuation of fashion? Is it likely we can send fine cloths to England, when our own gentry will not wear them here, though so much cheaper than those we get from England? Is it not ridiculous to talk of our contending in hard-ware with Birmingham, or, in earthen-ware with Staffordshire, from whence we are forced to bring them for our consumption, loaded with the expences of freight, insurance, commission, and duty? Perhaps, indeed, we might be able to send some coarse woollens to nearly the extent of what woollen yarn we now export; and some printed linens, cottons mixed with linen, cordage, or sail-cloth, or other articles, wherein the superiority we have in the linen manufacture might have its advantage; and these two articles, of the coarse woollens and printed, or mixed linens, are those alone in the whole catalogue that deserve any consideration, and to them we are to look for the sole commercial advantages we can derive from an Union. The superfine cloths are all made, or ought to be, of Spanish wool; and the English manufacturers, themselves, confess, we have not skill, or artificers, to contend with them in it. As to the coarser woollens, we use in our own consumption most of what wool we produce, except what we export in woollen yarn; and if all this was wrought up, and exported in woollen cloths, it would not be a matter of great consequence, but we must always have the power of a considerable export of linen and woollen yarn, or we will not have enough for our own manufactures, for,

if there was not a certain market for the redundancy of spun yarn over what we are able to weave, the spinners would be discouraged, by the apprehension of no sale for their yarn, and, in the next year, the weavers might not have enough for their demand—and this principle holds in every manufacture. As to the coarse woollens what makes it unlikely that we can rival England in them, is that in them the raw material is a great proportion of their value; and the wool of Ireland is worse considerably than that of England, and dearer in price, in the proportion of 10½d. to 6d. per pound, as positively affirmed by the English manufacturers in 1785. Of course, when our prosperity raises the price of labour, we can never expect to rival England in this article.

“With respect to those articles which make part of our linen manufacture, as printed linens, mixed cottons, &c. &c. if England was to lay aside, or equalize, all duties upon them, and the woollens, would we have any right to demand that she should continue the present bounty on the export of our linens, which was given us as a compensation for the exclusion of our woollens, and which, certainly, is a discouragement to her own linen manufacture, and particularly to that of Scotland? Our linen trade, as it stands at present, and encouraged by this bounty, is sufficient to employ the capital of the richest, and reward the speculation of the most adventurous trader, without contending, as we must do, in the other line of printed and cotton goods, with the power and opulence of Manchester, and the skillful establishment, capital, and machinery of the English artists. These manufactures are old, and firmly rooted in England. With us they are but in their infancy; and if all duties upon them were mutually taken off in England and Ireland, it would be the total destruction of all those branches of infant and unsettled manufacture, that would have to contend, on equal terms, with the old established ones of similar articles in Britain; and of these, none would engage in a more disadvantageous combat than the printed linens, cot-

tons, &c. This is proved by the testimony of the English Merchants themselves, who, when they were examined before the Lords of the Committee of Council, in 1785, on the Commercial Propositions, then depending between England and Ireland, did confess, that they had no apprehension of Ireland underselling them in their own market, in fine or coarse woollens, printed linens, or mixed goods, iron ware, or earthen ware, provided they were subject to equal duties, on import into England, with those then payable on import of similar articles into Ireland, and an equal duty on import of raw materials—as iron, cotton, &c. into either country.—The striking off all duties in both countries was much disapproved of by the Lords of the Committee of Council, and the system preferred was to diminish all duties then in existence to the standard of the country where they were lowest; and this *must* be the idea of any commercial arrangement between the two countries in case of an Union; and as the rates now stand this would leave a protecting duty of about 10 per cent. in general, besides insurance, freight, commission, &c. to all those English articles, we might hope to contend with them in, such as printed linens, mixed cottons, hard-ware, earthen-ware, &c. which the English Merchants, said, in 1785, would be sufficient to prevent a competition of the Irish Merchant in their own market.

“If, therefore, an Union is likely to do us little benefit to our export trade, see what injury must certainly result from it to our import. Indeed the Merchants begin to feel, that a great part of their trade in imported articles, for our home consumption, might cease, in consequence of the vast diminution of the numbers of our home consumers, which an Union in any possible shape, must necessarily create, by increasing the number of Absentees, almost beyond calculation, and it must always be remembered, that there is no nation in the world, where the gentry, or higher orders, so exclusively consume all the imported articles; and where the members of the differ-

ent branches of the Legislature, are so great a proportion of the Gentry, as in Ireland, and there is no country, therefore, in which the removal of her Legislature will take with it so great a number of the consumers of imported articles. The misfortune which the increase of Absentees will overwhelm all parts of this country with, is a matter of the deepest concern, and carries with it irresistible arguments against an Union, on this, however, we will talk some other time—I now only allude to the effects it will have on her commerce, and how severely it will be felt, by all our importing Merchants, in the first instance.

“As to the small taxes we pay, and the cheapness of labour, enabling us to vie with England in her own market, in certain of her articles of established manufacture; he continued, Tho’ at present our taxes are moderate, yet an Union would probably, in the first instance, and certainly in course of time, cause them to be put on the same footing with those of England; in the same examination of the English Merchants, in 1785, they said that one great cause of the cheapness of labour in Ireland, was, that candles, soap, leather, &c. were not excised in Ireland; these taxes, however, have already made some progress amongst us, and we have no reason to suppose, they will not encrease.

“As to the cheapness of labour, it is true that the commonest kind of day labour, merely agricultural, is cheaper here; but the prices of all superior artists, are equal, and in some instances, higher—for skilful workmen in the difficult branches, are rarely to be found here—and must be brought from England. So that they have not only English wages, but the great expence of their removal, and establishment. But suppose actual labour be cheaper here than in England, and may possibly continue so, surely, however, the want of skill in the manufacturer, the habitual drunkenness, facility of intoxication, and unsettled manners of our peo-

ple, are more than a countervailing equivalent, and I really believe, the English Merchant can get his piece of work manufactured for as small a sum of money, as the Irish Merchant can get a similar piece done for, from the superior skill and diligence of the one, and the many disadvantages, want of skill, and confirmed habits, in the other, notwithstanding that wages may be, and provisions certainly are, cheaper in Ireland.”

My partner stopped, and I own I had no reply ready, and I was mortified at it; on which he proceeded, “I assure you this is my sincere opinion, and in point of the further extension of the privileges of commerce, England has now nothing to give, which in our situation, and with our produce we can take much benefit from, and which would make atonement to this country, for any surrender of importance. I begin to think that the advocates for an Union, will not insist that much benefit will result from it, to our trade, and will shift their arguments (tho’ with more fallacy, as I shall shew you some other time) to the advantages we may derive from it, in point of *protection* and *security*. The commerce of Ireland is adequate to more than its capital, but that capital is rapidly encreasing, capable of great extension, and employed upon the best subjects of our produce and manufacture, and the nation has thriven accordingly.”

My Partner now ceased to speak, I said I would think of it; and I have given it much thought, and the more I consider it, the more I believe him in the right. I send you this, in hopes you will publish it in your useful and patriotic paper, as there may be many men in my situation, in Cork, Limerick, Belfast, and other great trading towns, who may not be lucky enough, to have a partner with equal knowledge—and who may be thereby tempted to wish for an Union, in hopes of commercial benefits, it never can bring with it.

A MERCHANT.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 8, 1799.

No. VI.

TO THE
LORDS AND COMMONS
OF
Ireland.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

IN a moment of awful importance to our country, I address you with that reverence, which a constitutional mind ought to feel, but with a confidence which the great occasion demands, and with which I am inspired, as a subject of a Constitution yet free; a Constitution, for the preservation of which, you stand in the proud character of Trustees for this nation. The Cabinet of England, and the Government of Ireland, have determined on the introduction of the question of an UNION, in the next Session of Parliament, at a time, and in such a temper of the People, as that it will, I fear, shake to its centre, the tranquillity of the kingdom: and as if insult and irritation were necessary preparatives for a question, too well calculated, by its own nature, to wound the sensibility, and to rouse the passions of the nation, an Englishman, in office here, without head or heart, who mistakes prating, for reasoning, and scribbling, for writing, has published, under Patronage, a Pamphlet, and a Letter, in which scarcely any thing appears, but examples without illustration, analogies without similitude, assumptions innumerable, ignorance of historical facts, which he affects to know, and an impudence provoking and incorrigible: This Gentleman, wafted into Ireland

“QUO PRUNA ET COCTONA VENTO.”

tells the Protestant, that a Union will effectually secure his political superiority over the Catholic—that the admission of the latter to a seat in Parliament; and for that purpose, the necessary repeal of the Test-Oaths, and the Act of Supremacy and Uniformity, would amount to an acquiescence in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Pope in this realm, and that politi-

cal equality, between Protestant and Catholic, must produce a Revolution. To the Catholic he tells, that “an opening may be left in any plan of a Union, for the future admission of Catholics to additional privileges,” that is, to that very privilege, which, in his estimation, must produce a Revolution! With ungrateful petulance, he vents his abuse upon the character and manners of the People of Ireland, collectively, and upon every class of them in particular, until his audacity, having attained its meridian altitude, falls, with the most wanton invectives, upon our national Parliament, which he wishes to annihilate. He tells you, my Lords and Gentlemen, in very plain language, that you are not, in fact, the independent Legislators of Ireland, but the machines of England; and that you betray the sacred trust reposed in you by your country, by becoming the instruments of the British Cabinet; from the basest and vilest of all possible motives. In his Pamphlet, page 12, he says, “The counsels for the Government of Ireland, are framed in the British Cabinet: the Government of Ireland is actually administered by a British Lord Lieutenant, who distributes the Patronage of the Crown: the Irish Parliament is supposed to be in a great degree subject to British Influence.” And he prescribes his Union as the only remedy for his falsely alledged degradation of the Irish Legislature, and tells the People of Ireland, that their Lords and Commons, are so irrecoverably sunk into political profligacy and baseness, that there is no hope of relief, but by extinguishing their separate existence, and by sending a few Lords and Commoners into the British Parliament, under the nearer influence of that Cabinet, which this reviler of our national character, represents as the laboratory in which your senatorial slavery is analysed and compounded:—And all this from a person, who, a few months ago, would have filled the gaols and the gibbets with such Irish Barbarians, as should venture to speak the tenth part of what he ventures to write: That vehicle of scetion, called THE PRESS, in its hottest career of virulence, never ventured to utter against our Parliament, a calumny so foul or so gross, as that which is now written against it by this Herald of Prostitution; and if I had not been ap-

prized that this extraordinary production had come from an official hand, I should have mistaken it for the work of a conspirator, who had renewed his efforts to rekindle the flame of religious animosity and murder, and to justify the enormities of the Irish Directory: In one place he says, that after the Union "there will be no clashing of distinct interests" between the two nations: and in another, "that the interests of England *must ever preponderate*," and "that a *preference* will always be given to her." Well done! thou honest Statesman! Thou deep, consistent, political reasoner! In his Letter in the D. Ev. Post, of the 11th of December last, in which he usurps the name of a CONSTITUTIONALIST, he dresses up a question, composed of assumptions, to his own taste, and then gravely answers it himself, after which he boldly insists that you have, by the Constitution, an authority to form a Union with the British Legislature, independent of the consent of the People of Ireland: And tho' without a Union, we certainly have our separate and independent Houses of Lords and Commons, and if a Union should take place, we would have neither the one or the other, yet this stunted grammarian, with a verbal trifling, commensurate to his intellect, insists that the formation of a Union, which must give away from Ireland the separate and independent existence of her two Houses of Parliament, is not a transfer of either! He undertakes to *demonstrate* your authority, independent of the People, by saying, that Lord Somers, a great Lawyer and Statesman, drew up the Bill of Rights, and the Articles of the Scotch Union; and he concludes his *demonstration*, by consigning his adversary to his ignorance of Lord Somers, and marches off triumphantly, hooting at (what he calls) technical logic, and *ideal shadows*. The prominent feature of this Gentleman's political character, appears to be incurable arrogance; yet it is astonishing, that he should have imagined that the established rights, the understanding, and the spirit, of a free people, could be scribbled away, amidst the *jejune* trash of any little *minister*, or any little *man*, who thinks himself a minister. I quit this gentleman for a while, to come to the main object of my address to you; and I lay it down as an irrefragable position, that the Constitution of Ireland is the indisputable property of the nation, and not of its Parliament. You, my Lords, acting your part in one great branch of this Constitution, form the dignified stay between the King and the People, in all matters of a legislative nature: You are also invested with the supreme judicial authority in all causes involving the

life, liberty and property, of the subject. No enlightened man has ever yet asserted, that this transcendent power has been committed to you by the Constitution, for your own exclusive benefit; or that thereby that branch of the Constitution which you thus occupy, was to become your absolute property, to be disposed of as you may please, without the express and special consent of the nation which first made the Constitution, and then appointed the several bodies of the Parliament, to act their distinct parts on the distinct branches of it: You are in fact, my Lords, but Trustees in your Parliamentary capacity, and therefore answerable to your country for the property of the people thus committed to your care, the separate existence of which, you have no right to consent to destroy, or transfer, without their special authority for that purpose. As to you, Gentlemen, who more peculiarly represent the People of Ireland in their separate and independent Commons' House of Parliament, I do, in the name of my country, solemnly enter my protest against even a colour of authority vested in you, to give up, extinguish, or transfer, your separate and independent existence as a branch of our legislature, without the special and express direction of your Constituents, from whom alone you derive your Parliamentary existence: When you were elected, the term of your delegation was clearly defined by the settled law of the land: Now, Gentlemen, let me intreat you to lay your hands upon your hearts, and say, whether at the time when your Constituent was giving his vote for your election, it ever entered into the mind of any honourable member among you, that he committed, or intended to commit, to you, not only the sacred trust of making laws for him, during the defined term of your delegation, but also full authority to destroy for ever, that separate and independent branch of Ireland's Constitution, into which he was sending you to act for his benefit? The very idea outrages every principle of Constitution, common justice, and common sense. Let me suppose the Union formed without the special consent I have mentioned: The Act which compleats the Union, must bring on a dissolution of the Irish Parliament; and send you back upon a political level with your fellow-subjects: Suppose a Constituent should address one of you in these terms:—

"Sir, you solicited my vote for your election to represent me in the separate and independent Commons of Ireland. You promised a faithful discharge of the trust, and you became the object of my confidence. During the term

defined by law I entrusted to you the stupendous power to concur in making laws affecting every thing dear to the heart of man. The term of your delegation is determined, and I demand from your hands that separate independent branch of the constitution which I committed to your care as my trustee, in order that I may again exercise my birth-right, and choose another person in your stead."

Can there be one Irishman among you of such callousness of conscience, so dead to all sense of shame, as to be able to meet the indignant eye of his betrayed constituent, conscious that he had consented to the utter extinction of the subject matter of his trust? There never was, and I hope there never will be, one Irish member in your honourable assembly miscreant enough, to put himself into a situation to be so questioned by his constituents. May the manly answer of J. E. Beresford to the Guild of St. Loy, never be forgotten by my fellow-citizens of Dublin.

I have, my Lords and Gentlemen, denied, as I ever shall deny, your authority, as members of our Parliament, to consent to the destruction of the separate and independent existence of the two great branches of the constitution, which you fill, without the consent of the majority of the people of Ireland. By this I do not mean to insinuate any distrust of your integrity; but, I am sure, that the Parliament of a free country cannot be displeased at the anxiety of an Irishman trembling for the peace and the fate of his country, if, upon a question of such incalculable value to millions yet unborn, he rests his chief dependance upon the unchangeable point of constitutional right. I have endeavoured to prove your want of the authority, upon the principles of the constitution, and of common justice, to bring about such a *revolution*—I say, a revolution; because, if the mere removal of the crown of England from one branch of the same family to another, still preserving the three great branches of the constitution unimpaired, be a revolution, surely, it is much more so, to annihilate the separate existence of the Lords and Commons of Ireland. But, if my own strength be too faint for the purpose, permit me to supply the defect from the highest authority. In the session of 1716, the famous septennial bill passed the Lords, and was sent down to the Commons of England. In the speech of Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards Lord Raymond, and Chief Justice of England, upon the subject of that bill, you will find the following remarkable passages:—

"Sorry should I be to suppose, we had any allies who refused to treat with us, because we refused to *relinquish* our constitution. Will not the people say, with reason, if this bill shall pass, that, when the original term of your delegation is elapsed, you are no longer *their* representatives. In my opinion, the King, Lords, and Commons, can no more *continue* a Parliament beyond its natural duration, than they can *make* a Parliament." Here, then, we have the opinion of a great English lawyer, that Parliament had no power to extend the duration of the trust committed to them—that the exercise of such a power would be a *relinquishment* of the constitution—that the members of the House of Commons would not, during the additional term, be the representatives of the people—and, that the three estates of the constitution had no power to extend the term of delegation one day longer than was settled and defined by law, at the time when the delegation was made. I cannot presume to affront your understandings, or your feelings, by asking, what, you think, would have been the opinion of that great constitutional lawyer, if he were questioned as to the power of the King, Lords, and Commons, to extinguish, for ever, the separate and independent legislative authority of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain? And yet our English pamphleteer has the matchless effrontery to tell the people of Ireland, that the meditated Union, which is to have precisely the same effect upon the Lords and Commons of Ireland, is a change only in the form, but not in the essence of the constitution!

I am extremely unwilling to impute wicked intentions to any man; but I cannot help observing, that the lucubrations of this gentleman, and of his auxiliaries, in the task of promoting an Union, seem to manifest a selection of topics calculated to sink the spirit, and to degrade the character of the nation, and to make the people look with horror and disgust upon those establishments and orders in society, which they have been always accustomed to regard with veneration and love. The eye of the public has been ever lifted towards the august assembly in our House of Lords with profound respect. The Commons of Ireland, as emanating immediately from the people, have been uniformly the objects of our respect, mixed with strong emotions of sensibility and affection. Of late, in particular, every loyal heart in the nation glowed with confidence in, and gratitude to, both our Houses of Parliament, by whose over-awing presence, vigi-

lance, and incessant labours, under God, the country has chiefly been rescued from the horrors of a most unnatural rebellion. Is this, then, the time for the foul tongue of calumny to discharge its malignant slander against the character and dignity of our Parliament? Are we now to be told, that the leading members of our legislature are in treaty with the British cabinet, for the sale of themselves, their political consequence, and their country? That English peerages, and English gold, are to be received as the rewards of the basest prostitution, and the vilest of all treachery? That the proud mind of an Irish peer, and the high spirit of an Irish commoner, would plunge themselves into a scene of iniquity, to verify the imputations of their libellers, to justify the complaints of conspirators, and to render our nobles and gentry the eternal abomination of their country, and the objects of contempt and disgust to all Europe? No, my Lords and Gentlemen, we despise the vile slander; we are truly grateful to you for the exalted part you have acted in preserving us from an unequalled rebellion, and we look to you, with proud confidence, for our deliverance from this other death-blow, now aimed at our constitution. Our country bleeds yet at every pore; religious and political rancour yet disturbs our peace, and excites our fear; the nation is not in a state of reflection; it is incapable of exercising its judgment upon a question so momentous as that of a Union. Continue, we beseech you, to pour balm into our wounds; employ your wisdom in abating the fury of our political and religious divisions; and suffer us not to be approached by the terrific question of a Union, which will make our veins bleed anew, and will put the loyal men of Ireland into a situation of unequalled anxiety, whether to defend the constitution against rebellion on one side, or, from fraud and plunder on the other. We rely, firmly rely, my Lords and Gentlemen, upon your wisdom and integrity, to keep us out of such an agonizing difficulty. If, however, upon awaking from our panic and dismay, we shall find, (which I think scarcely possible) that we have been defrauded of our birth-right, our valued constitution, by any power on earth; and, particularly, if we shall discover, that the motives to such a fraud,

really are such, as we now think calumny alone can impute to you. What will be the duty of every honest man in the nation? I tremble to think of it. Yet, some choice of conduct must be made. It will be impossible to submit to the supposed treachery. May the God of eternal justice direct us! Every thing valuable and dignifying to a nation gone! And, gone by such means too! Human nature cannot, will not, bear it. The awful warning of the poet recurs to my recollection:

*“Curandum in primis, ne magna injura fiat
“fortibus et miseris: tollas licet omne quod
“usquam est auri atque argenti—
——“SPOLIATIS ARMA SUPERSUNT.”*

I am proud to declare myself, (and hope I shall ever have reason to do so) my Lords and Gentlemen,

Your devoted servant,

FITZPATRICK,

EPIGRAM.

The Cit complains, to all he meets,
That grass will grow in Dublin streets,
And cries, that—all is over.
Short-sighted blockhead, don't you see,
Your mourning should be changed to glee,
For then you'll live *in clever*.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the beautiful Fable of *Trebor*, the vision of *Pharoah*, the *Freeholder*, and other valuable favours, which shall be attended to as soon as possible, and which should not be delayed, but, that they are necessarily postponed to prior communications.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 10, 1799.

No. VII.

TO THE
EDITORS of the ANTI-UNION.

Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Impofuit.

VIRG. ÆN. LIB. VI.

IT was with astonishment I read in the late newspapers, that some Sheriffs had refused to comply with requisitions to convene the Freeholders of their Counties, for the purpose of instructing Representatives on the subject of the Union. I did conceive, that as the blindest ignorance could be no apology for such a refusal, so the most depraved corruption could not have dictated the adoption of such conduct. At this time, and on such a question, it is impossible that Government could be so unwise as to stifle the public breath. The administration of this country must be aware, that a measure of such ultimate and vital consequence, could have no security for permanence, unless it were founded on the declared wishes, or the avowed approbation of the constituent body. The wisdom of future times will easily distinguish the silence of the people of the present day, from acquiescence or consent. This truth is so obvious, that to impute any tampering with Sheriffs to Government, would be to charge it not only with a crime, which it could not commit, but with blindness and folly, of which it is incapable. Let me not, however, waste time in searching into the motives of the misconduct of those public officers, which, whether it proceeds from indolence, or ignorance, or corruption, deserves severe reprehension. I consider inertness on the part of the Constituent, at the present crisis, as a crime against posterity—and I shall call by no other name than treason to the constitution, the refusal by a Sheriff to exercise the privilege to which he is only entitled by usage or courtesy, and which the present awful occasion, makes a public and indispensable duty.

Fortunately, however, the power of the people to assemble for constitutional purposes requires not the consent of the Sheriff, and this great right

of the subject is not held at will from the officer of the crown. The design of this Paper is shortly to state what the law considers as the privilege of the people of the realm in this respect, and how far the exercise of that privilege depends on the authority of sheriffs.

It is unnecessary to support, by legal proofs, the proposition, that the subjects of this realm have an inherent right by the common law, to assemble in any numbers for the purpose of petitioning the King, or either House of Parliament, against any existing, or apprehended, grievance. This proud privilege, peculiar to the constitution of these countries, has constantly been guarded with the most anxious solicitude. It received repeated confirmations in the earlier times of the English history, and whenever it was found necessary to assert or secure constitutional liberty, this right, necessary to the interests, and dear to the hearts of Englishmen, was never forgotten. It was part of the stipulation in the petition of right in the reign of Charles I.; it formed a prominent feature in the declaration and bill of rights, when the Constitution was renovated and established by the Revolution; and it was carefully introduced into the act of settlement, which secured the throne to the family of our beloved Sovereign. I cannot better illustrate or define the nature and extent of this right, than by transcribing the words of a popular author on this topic: "The freedom of canvassing political subjects, is not limited to the members of the legislature, the like privilege is allowed to the other orders of the people, and a full scope is given to that spirit of party, and a complete security insured to those numerous and irregular meetings, which create so much uneasiness in the Sovereigns of other countries. Individuals may, in such meetings, take an active part for procuring the success of those public steps, which they wish to see pursued. The law sets no restriction on their numbers, nor has it, we may say, taken any precaution to prevent even the abuse that might be made of such freedom."—De Lolme—page 48.

These observations are made rather with a view to shew how sacred and invaluable the right of the people to assemble for political purposes, has always been held by our law, than to prepare the way for an inference, that the body in each coun-

ty which elects representatives for Parliament, has also the less extensive right of meeting to instruct these representatives, on questions of local, or national, concern. This right, acknowledged in courts of law, sanctioned by parliament, and exercised from time immemorial, requires this day, no confirmation from argument or induction.

Is this, then, a right inherent in the people, but incapable of being called forth into exertion, without the sanction or summons of a sheriff? Or in other words, were our forefathers so simple and improvident, that on some occasions they forced from the Sovereign an acknowledgment of this public right, and frequently stipulated for its permanence, and yet suffered the exercise of it (without which the right itself would be a mere abstract idea) to lie at the mercy of an officer whom the crown appoints? It is but necessary to state this proposition, to expose its absurdity: In fact the power to summon freeholders, for the purpose of instructing representatives, is no part of the duty or office of a sheriff. It is not recognized by our law, either as a duty which he is bound to discharge, or an authority which he has a right to exercise, and our municipal code knows no such solecism as a duty of imperfect obligation, or a power which cannot be enforced. When a writ is delivered to a sheriff, there is a reciprocal duty on him to execute it, and on those against whom it is directed, to comply with its mandate, and the one is as liable to punishment for negligence or malversation, as the other for disobedience or resistance. In the same manner, when the sheriff summons jurors, his duty, and that of the freeholder, is mutual, and each is attended with its ascertained sanction. But as the law gives no remedy against a sheriff who refuses to comply with a requisition to convene the freeholders of his county for political purposes, and provides no punishment for the declining to attend such a meeting when assembled by him, it follows as a necessary inference, that the power to summon, or require the attendance of freeholders, on such occasions, forms no part of his office.—Whence the practice of the sheriff collecting such assemblies originated, whether in the power with which he was invested, to compel the appearance of those who owed suit at his tourn; or whether, as is most probable, in the convenience of those who used him as the most likely instrument of procuring numerous meetings, it is not now necessary to enquire; but it may be of some utility to correct a common error, that this is a branch of that authority, by which he is enabled to call forth the power of the county, or as it is named, in legal Latin, the *potestas comitatus*. The reason why the constitution has entrusted this power to the

sheriff, and the purposes for which it may be exerted, may be stated in a few words. As he is the minister of the law, whose peculiar province it is to carry the process and decisions of courts of justice, into execution, it was reasonable to apprehend resistance in turbulent times and among desperate men, and it was wise to provide some force, which, by being immediately at the command of the sheriff, might prevent, or repress, opposition. For this purpose, the law armed the sheriff with a privilege of raising the power of his county, that is, such a number of men, as are necessary for his assistance, in the execution of the King's writs, quelling of riots, apprehending traitors, robbers, &c. and every person above the age of fifteen, not aged or decrepid, is bound to assist the sheriff, when called on for these ends, on pain of fine and imprisonment. Thus stands the authority of the sheriff, as to raising the power of the county, and certainly reason, or common sense, cannot discover any connection or analogy, between that branch of his office, and the usage which has taken place, of county meetings summoned by him, in pursuance of the requisition of a few freeholders.

There is another light in which I beg leave to place this subject, the rather as it may serve as a guide to the conduct which should be observed at public meetings. If the sheriff's approbation were necessary previous to a meeting of freeholders, any such assembly as had not that sanction would be illegal, and consequently each individual who composed it would be liable to an indictment as for a public offence. Now, that the evidence of peaceably attending such a meeting could not support any indictment, whatever, is obvious to every lawyer. The lowest species of offence which can be committed by a number of men is, what the law knows by the technical name of "an unlawful assembly;" and, from the very definition of this crime, it will be apparent, that the peaceable assembly of any body of men for constitutional purposes, cannot be a breach of the law. I take the definition from 1 Hawkin's Pleas of the Crown—book 1st. chap. 65. sect. 9.—"Any meeting, whatsoever, of great numbers of people, with such circumstances of terror as cannot but endanger the public peace, and raise fears and jealousies among the King's subjects, seems properly to be called an unlawful assembly; as where great numbers, complaining of a common grievance, meet together, armed in a warlike manner, in order to consult together concerning the most proper means for the recovery of their interests, for no one can foresee what may be the event of such an assembly." It appears, from this quotation, that the very essence, and

fine qua non of this crime, consists not merely in great numbers of the people assembling, but in the circumstances of terror which accompany them, and which menace the public peace. It is in the threats of hostility, and the weapons of war, which raise reasonable fears and jealousies among the king's subjects, and, in these alone, that the law discovers criminality.

But, it is supposed by some persons, that a late Act of Parliament, known by the name of the Convention Bill, operates, in some manner, to restrain the public right which I have endeavoured to illustrate. A short statement of that statute will clearly shew, that such a supposition is founded in radical ignorance of its object and provisions. Previous to the year 1793, many assemblies of persons, who were *deputed* by others, met for the purpose of deliberating on public affairs; and, although such bodies had formerly been of essential service to the nation, yet the legislature perceived, that they had become so frequent, and, under the pretence of seeking the redress of public grievances, their designs were so dangerous, that it was deemed prudent to suppress such delegated bodies. For this purpose, alone, was enacted the 33d of Geo. 3. xxix. the preamble of which recites, that, "whereas the *election*, or appointment of assemblies purporting to *represent* the people, or any description or number of the people of this realm, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, &c. may be made use of to serve the ends of factious and seditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder." It then enacts—"that all assemblies, committees, or other bodies of persons *elected*, or in any other manner constituted, or appointed to *represent*, or assuming, or exercising, a right, or authority, to *represent* the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people of any province, county, city, town, or other district within the same, under pretence of petitioning for, or, in any other manner procuring an alteration of matters established by law in church or state, save and except the houses of convocation duly summoned by the King's writ, are unlawful assemblies." Thus, it requires but inspection of this statute to discover, that it was directed merely against those delegated societies which assembled to subvert the constitution. Was it the intention of the legislature, in this act, to trench upon that right, which the common law of this realm gives to all the King's subjects, and, among them, to the freeholders in their counties, or publicly, in their own persons, meeting ei-

ther to petition, to remonstrate, or instruct? Let the same statute answer. In section 4th it is "provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed in any manner to prevent or impede the undoubted right of his Majesty's subjects of this realm to petition his Majesty, or both Houses, or either House of Parliament, for redress of any public or private grievance." It is the undoubted right of the subjects of this realm—a right, which the intrepid and inflexible spirit of our early ancestors interwove with the laws; which their descendants, when beaten from the outworks of the constitution, placed in its citadel as the Palladium of their liberties, and defended with their swords; which their posterity, to whom it was transmitted as a sacred inheritance, cautiously secured by many charters and stipulations, and which, even in the coercive laws produced by the necessities of our own times, has suffered no diminution or restraint. And shall this right, which has withstood the open assaults of arbitrary monarchs, bend to the timidity, or the ignorance, or the corruption of a county sheriff? No. This ministerial officer, if his intentions be honest, and his heart incorrupt, may facilitate, but it is not in his power to prevent or impede any meeting of the constituent body within his district. If, therefore, from any paltry motive, a sheriff refuses compliance with a requisition, those who solicited his interference, may, by a direct and public application in their own names to their fellow-freeholders, as legally, and, perhaps, not less efficaciously, procure what they desire without his aid.

While a sense of public duty, and the generous enthusiasm of patriotic virtue lived in the hearts of Irishmen—while a love for this country, its laws, and its constitution, had yet existence, the right to assemble in counties and smaller districts was not dormant or inactive. A prospect of acquiring new privileges, or of casting aside old burthens, readily assembled the people, and no representative went to Parliament without ample instructions from his constituents. Where is that noble and high-minded spirit flown at this moment, which infinitely surpasses, in importance, every former period in the history of our constitution? It is not the redress of a partial grievance—it is not the hope of extending constitutional liberty, which now calls on the people—the constitution itself is expiring; and, without their legitimate interference, may perish! People of Ireland awake! For, if you sleep, you die!

A LAWYER.

THE TWO SHIPS.

A FABLE.

Et ego malim audire tales fabulas,
quam experi—

NAUFRAG. ERASM.

A SHIP that weather'd many a gale,
With off-fish'd mast, and tatter'd sail;
And many a shot, and many a scar,
That she receiv'd in deadly war;
Afraid of ev'ry angry cloud,
Or breeze that whistl'd thro' a shroud;
O'er-burden'd, lab'ring, heaving, cracking;
In danger, ev'ry wave of wrecking.
Thus, to a vessel, stout and tight,
That constant had kept close in sight;
And ev'ry gale had lent assistance,
Or, when the foe, kept not his distance—
"Your crew, good ship, you can't deny,
"Is tainted strong with mutiny.
"Now, mine is loyal, if we mix'em.
"We'll make two honest crews betwixt'em;
"And that we may keep close together,
"And stoutly face all sorts of weather,
"We'll tow you by the strongest cable—
"That to devise my crew is able;
"And, if you leave it to my master,
"We both shall sail more safe and faster.
"As to our burden; tho' you'll share it,
"His skill will give you strength to bear it.
"My solemn faith shall plighted be,
"Your share I'll just apportion'd see—
"And, to your strength, your load I'll square,
"Nor stow a pound you cannot bear.
"A common fate we then shall have,
"Together mount the boist'rous wave;
"Or, down the wat'ry vale so low,
"Together we shall chearful go.
"The storm, dear ship, that injures you,
"Shall sink thy constant comrade, too."
The trim-built vessel thus replied,
As proud she rode upon the tide.—
"I know I have on board some men,
"That seem rebellious now and then.
"But, what's the cause? For you can tell,
"Allowance short makes men rebel;
"And you have many a hand of mine,
"That on my crews' provisions dine;
"Each day on biscuit we must work,
"Forsooth, to send you beef and pork.
"Send me my men, their pay, and stores—
"Cease to rip up our healing sores.

"In honor, and, in wisdom's name,
"Help me some prudent plan to frame,
"To gain a happy crews' affection;—
"D—n it, 'twill be thine own protection.
"Our ship we'll work then gay and cheer,
"Nor wind, nor wave, nor foe, we'll fear;
"As to the tow-ropes, I am loth
"To try it, for 'twill hurt us both;
"A course for you's no course for me,
"Our trims are diff'rent as can be;
"But I shall, as I'm wont to do,
"Keep constant company with you,
"And over-board the traitor-hearted
"Shall go—that wish to see us parted;
"But I perceive, 'tis my crews' mind,
"By ropes we never should be join'd."
'Twas all in vain—a scoundrel few
About the helm; betrayed the crew;
And for a bounty, basely gotten,
Lash'd the sound vessel to the rotten.
No sooner was this foul deed done,
Than flap on board comes ton on ton
Of cumbrous, heavy, grievous burden,
Ten times as much as she'd her word on;
A storm comes on—a dreadful blast!
Now goes a sail!—now groans a mast!
The surgy waves, in mountains cur'd,
Now wraps them in the watry world!
Shot on the billow, now they rise,
And seem to penetrate the skies!
Their heaving sides, with frightful crash,
The rolling ships together dash:
The tight-built ship now 'gan to think,
That thus united—both must sink;
And better 'twas, that they should part:
For ever, than a plank should start;
To save herself, nought else was left,
She cut the rope, and sent adrift
The crazy ship, to live at sea,
Well as she could, and bore away.

MORAL.

WHEN dame Experience, grey and sage,
Doth tell us that for many an age,
Things independent have succeeded;
How have those things dependence needed?
Better enjoy what good we have,
Than state uncertain ever crave;
Those ills we have, we'd better bear,
Than greater with another share.

TREBOR.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1799.

No. VIII.

TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
Ireland.

IT must be matter of grief and alarm to every reflecting Patriot, to observe what slight emotion the question of an Union with Great Britain, has excited in the public mind. Tho' several weeks have now elapsed since this measure was officially announced, and tho' it be known almost to a certainty, that nothing but the popular voice being against it, can defeat its success, yet in no part of Ireland, Dublin excepted, have the people declared what is now their opinion, and what in future will be their conduct, should it take place. How is this apparent indifference, and cold apathy, upon a subject which in its very infancy is so momentous, and will in its effects be so deplorable, to be accounted for? In order to expose the irreparable danger of such a conduct, and to point out with perspicuity the tone and action which Ireland should now adopt, it may be proper to enquire from whence arises her silence and serenity, at this eventful moment.

In the year 1782, when a few patriotic members in our Parliament, introduced the celebrated questions of free trade, and free constitution, the people stood not idle spectators of their efforts, nor damped their ardour by an obtuse insensibility to the welfare of their country—but on the contrary, a spirit of national love, animated every bosom, and dictated to every tongue, language becoming a people determined to be free! What was the consequence? Your virtuous minority, once feeble in point of numbers, and almost shrinking from the task they had undertaken, soon swelled to a triumphant and bold majority, which obliged the Minister of the day, to ratify the independence of your Legislature, and the freedom of your Commerce. Suppose that on that memorable occasion, instead of resorting to the manly and constitutional measures to which you then resorted, you had, as now, sat quiet in your houses, wailing over the public misfortunes, and bending to their influence, without a struggle to counteract them; would not the exertions of your political friends have been overborne by your political enemies? would not your commerce have continued to languish in its chains, and your Par-

liament to be a mere Register Office for the British Cabinet. From such disgrace and calamity were you rescued, by your exertions in 1782.

What did your exertions in 1785 do for you? Under the artful pretext of extending your trade, and establishing upon a permanent, fair, and enlarged basis, the commerce of this country with Great Britain, certain Propositions were introduced into your House of Commons, which shewed an exterior both captivating and delusive, but under which lurked certain stipulations, which would have left your commerce at the mercy of the Parliament of England, and would have stolen from your Legislature, its independent capacity, in all external concerns;—What followed? The same men, whose talents, and whose virtues, seconded by your authority, had made you a free nation, stepped forward with enthusiastic ardor in your cause; they detected the cheat, they exposed the snare which was so artfully laid for your commerce and liberty; the popular spirit rose at once, with a dignified majesty, and augmented strength; it denounced the measure—what was the consequence? The Minister trembled?—abandoned this favourite object of his heart—and you continued free. So much for popular, constitutional efforts. You all know what they have done for you. I believe there is hardly a man in the nation, who is not in the actual enjoyment of some benefit, which can be traced back to this source. The manufacturer, by the markets it has opened for him—the husbandman, by the high price for the products of the earth—and the landlord, by the augmentation of his rents. Multifarious and important, indeed, are the rewards which you have already received, and which, if this Union, deadly to your prosperity, does not come to pass, you must continue to receive, for having appeared, at those interesting epochs, the active and dauntless champions of your country. With these facts impressed upon your memory, with the fruits of your toil in your very hands, it cannot but be matter of astonishment, to a calm observer, that you could hear without loud indignation, that shortly an attempt is to be made, not merely to reduce your Parliament to the imperfect and impotent state in which it was antecedent to 82; not merely to curtail it of part of its independence, as was attempted in 85, but actually to annihilate it entirely, and to put commerce, treasure, liberty, every thing, for ever, into the custody of that nation, which so long held you in bondage, and of that very Minister, who so recently endeavoured surreptitiously to deprive you of both trade and freedom. To what, I ask again, am I to attri-

bute this drowsy silence—this national torpor, at an hour so eventful, and when, to the plainest understanding, it must be evident, that the honor, the interest, and the liberty of this island, materially depend upon the people of all descriptions speaking decisively against the adoption of the Union? Shall I ascribe it to a defect of national virtue—to a listless attachment to the cause of liberty—to a stupid ignorance of their own interests—or to the criminal hope, that the disastrous effects of this measure, will touch with but a feeble hand, the people of the present day, and that it will be only on their children and their successors, that its calamities will operate?—No!—No!—Away with such base and ignoble motives! Every portion of the history of this country, bears ample testimony that her sons were never actuated by sentiments so unbecoming the dignity of the human character. To motives less culpable in their essence, but which will not be less fatal in their consequence, are to be ascribed the cause that the popular understanding continues, as it were, at rest, and the people dumb. The internal calamities which so lately convulsed this country, have left behind them, in the breast of multitudes of the sincerest lovers of freedom and the constitution, a panic and an asperity towards the authors of these troubles, which monopolize all the anxieties and feelings of the mind, and make them listen with calmness, perhaps with pleasure, to the proposition of an Union, which they are, with more art than truth, told, will put an end to these domestic distractions, and leave the kingdom in a state of happy quiescence. If those who are deluded by this argument, will, but for a moment, impartially examine it, and ask themselves, how will it have such an effect? its artificial strength will instantly vanish, and its fallacy be apparent. The Union can calm the disquiet of perturbed spirits only, by gratifying their wishes, and removing those causes which make them discontented and turbulent: Now the people of this description, are generally considered as Catholics, Reformers, and Republicans: Now how would an Union gratify and appease any, or all of these? The Catholic wishes to be allowed to sit in Parliament, and to have all the offices and the dignities of the state laid open to him; his exclusion from these, is the parent of his discontent; and is it reasonable to suppose, that by taking away the Parliament entirely, by depriving all public situations of their ancient lustre, and making them contemptible, and then giving him a share of this refuse, that his ambition, or his pride, would be gratified, and that he, who is now so ardent and restless to become a perfect member of a perfect state, after an Union would be satisfied with any share, however ample, of places and honours, thus mutilated, and thus debased; and in a country thus stripped of its imperial state, and thus provincialized. The Catholics themselves will tell you it will not, and that they will never sell their

country, for any partial privileges that may be offered to them in return.

As to the Reformer, how is he to be soothed and silenced by this Union? Tho' he is ready to confess that numerous and important are the benefits conferred on the nation by the wisdom of the Parliament, and that our island has risen of late to a degree of unexpected prosperity, yet he still thinks, that the Parliament has not been as faithful to its trust, as it should have been, and that the way to render it more obedient to the wishes of the people is, by reforming the representation. To obtain this reform, he has been impatient and assiduous for years, and the defeat of his wishes, has been the cause of his complaints, and his irritation. And what remedy is proposed to lull him for the future in content, and to raise new affections in his heart, for the constitution and the country? Will it be credited, that to effect this, the first is to be destroyed, *in toto*, and the latter made not worth living in? Is there any one so weak, or so credulous, as soberly to think that the man who is discontented with the Parliament in its present shape, will be satisfied, when there is none at all?—that he who is indignant because a portion of our representatives is more under the control of the Minister, than their Constituents, will be calmed, when he sees that all the representatives will be out of the reach of the authority of the people, and entirely within the dominion of the crown; that satisfaction will result from making that which is now bad, much worse, and removing for ever the possibility of amendment? These observations would appear nugatory and childish, but that there are persons who vainly imagine, that the reformer would cease to murmur, when the constitution would cease to exist.

I shall next notice the republican party;—among these there are certainly many whom it would be vain to attempt to win back to the Government, by any amelioration of the constitution—but I believe there are multitudes of that description, who were alienated from our laws, by seeing them abused with impunity, and by an absolute despondence, that any appeal to the legislature would produce a salutary change, and who, after experiencing the futility of endeavouring to reform by force, would be glad to return to the bosom of the constitution, and unite in temperate efforts for its improvement. If a Union should take place, what would become of these men? Would they not, with equal activity, but with more caution, propagate and mature the seeds of civil discord and revolt, and might they not gain from among the best friends of the monarchy, such advocates and coadjutors, as would make them now as formidable in talent, as they were before in numbers? This is but a reasonable supposition;—And how, then, is tranquillity to be produced by a measure which will excite additional inflammation, in those already irritated, is solicited by no description of the people, and which will reduce Ireland to

a state more wretched than antecedent to her liberation by the volunteers. Contemplating all this, I cannot see in this Union any thing but the rudiments of a discord and convulsion that may one day separate these kingdoms, and which, as a friend to the connection, I most sincerely deprecate.

When I look to Scotland, and find that the Union there, so far from producing public tranquillity, excited discontents, which repeatedly broke out in acts of outrage, and that, since the æra of the Union, that country has been visited by two Rebellions, and that, in the manifesto published by the Lords and Gentry engaged in the first rebellion, the Union is stated as a principal cause. I, therefore, exhort all those who have no other reason for being friendly to this measure than that it will bring back halcyon days to distracted Ireland, to dismiss such a delusive hope from their minds, and not to accumulate our misfortunes by countenancing an Union.

There are others who seem to be withheld from publicly expressing their opposition to this measure by conceiving it to be above the reach of their capacities. Upon no occasion could the plea of ignorance and incapacity be more inadmissible than on this; because, though there are many who may not be able to penetrate into the remote consequences of this measure, or, even see all its immediate evils; yet, there are certain consequences to follow instantly from it, so fatal and so obvious, so irreparable and so deadly to our interest, that the shallowest understanding must see them, and its most strenuous advocate confess them. First, the downfall of our capital; and, in this we are not merely to calculate the ruin of the arts and sciences there collected—her university, her magnificent buildings, and that general splendor which is already beginning to rival the metropolis of our jealous sister. But, we are principally to look to the gross injustice which would thus be inflicted on thousands of innocent citizens, who, by their property being annihilated, would, from a state of ease or opulence, be reduced to the most afflictive distress. And, also, to the loss of that capacious market, where purchasers are to be found for almost every thing vendible, which the industry of man in the remotest corner of the island can produce. Secondly, the great efflux of absentees, with their wealth, their manners, their learning, and their love for poor Ireland. Thirdly, the loss of our Parliament, which, though not as virtuous as it ought to be, has done much for this kingdom, and must always be more solicitous for our welfare than the Legislature of a foreign country. Fourthly, committing the custody of our purse, our trade, and our liberty to the guardianship of a country, which abused this very trust before, when in her hands; and to be freed from whose influence we once regarded as the most fortunate event in the annals of our history. I might go

on enumerating further instances, but, I shall content myself with adding one more. Fifthly, our having such a paucity of Lords and Commons in the British Parliament as would render them utterly incapable of ever doing justice to their own country when the interest of England was in question. Suppose, therefore, that, in case of an Union, some commercial favors were to be conceded to us, how could they counterbalance the surrender of such national advantages, of every thing which can enrich and exalt a nation? Though we are thus, in case of an Union, to abdicate our independence—to renounce our right to legislate for ourselves—to adopt a system, under which, Scotland starves; and to abandon a system, under which, Ireland flourishes; yet, there are some persons who seem insensible to these calamities; and, though astute and vociferous in matters less intelligible and important, appear unable to see and to feel with common sense on this subject. If they suffer the moment of instruction and action to pass unprofitably by, let them remember that it can never return.

It is asserted, that Cork, and the towns on the western coast will not merely give this measure a silent sanction, but will be active in its favor, and for this reason, that they will be materially served by it. In answer to this I must observe, that such might be the case, situated conveniently as they are for the American and West Indian trade? if the liberty of directly importing into Ireland the returns of the cargoes exported from hence to America and the West Indies was to be acquired by an Union; but as they possess that privilege at this moment, they may now derive from it every benefit which the physical felicity of their situation for such a trade may give them. If these places then can derive any immediate benefit from an Union, it must be by sacrifices made of English commerce to their service. Suppose that improbable event to take place, how would they be secured to them, either by the terms of the Union, or by the English merchants regarding the prosperity of these towns with as friendly an inclination as the prosperity of their own; and, therefore, not entertaining any jealousy at their commercial acquisitions. As to the act of the Union being their security, let its violation in the case of Scotland; in the instance of the malt tax, warn them not to be too confident on that head; and as to the disinterested spirit of the British merchant being their security, let the fate of the tobacco trade at Glasgow warn them not to be too confident on that head. But should the people in the south and west of Ireland, in order to advance their own narrow interests, agree to a measure which would ruin the trade of Dublin, and impoverish almost the whole of the kingdom, would not their own conduct, to a demonstration, prove how little they ought to rely upon the just and generous disposition of the English mer-

chant towards them—for if they could be so selfish and cramp-minded as to desolate and destroy their own capital in order to derive from the wreck a commercial ascendancy, could they hope more generous feelings in the traders of London, or Liverpool, or Bristol, towards themselves? Certainly not. They may be assured whenever their trade should become formidable, or come in competition with that of British merchants, it would be made to bend and shrink to it: and where could they find redress? Is it from their own representatives in the English Parliament, where they would be found impotent in point of numbers, impotent in point of dignity, with the British nation to oppose their claims, and without the Irish nation to support them. Indeed I cannot look upon this report of the friendly disposition of Cork and the Western districts towards this measure in any other point of view than as a gross libel on the inhabitants of these places, and as a base artifice, adopted to induce the Minister to persevere in this measure. I cannot bring my mind to believe, that any men who intend to make Ireland their residence, can be so base and so abandoned, so destitute of shame and so indifferent to the opinion of their fellow-citizens, to the honor of their country and their own, as to sell, for any peculiar and personal advantages, all that, as members of an exalted community, we ought to estimate and grasp with a tenderness as sincere and affectionate as a parent would his child: If the people of Cork and the West feel, as I believe they do feel, with a noble and disinterested spirit on this subject—if their patriotism be not confined within the narrow sphere of their own coasts, but is as wide as their island, I hope they will come forward, and by an unequivocal declaration against an Union, remove the slander which has been cast on their character, and repress those hopes which their supposed patronage of the measure have excited.

I have now stated the reasons which occurred to me as those which have restrained the public sentiment from bursting out on the first notification of this measure, and the danger of any longer continuing silent: I shall, therefore, conclude, after making some general observations on the subject. If the people continue pertinaciously silent, it will be considered by the Minister as an assent to the measure, and will, in truth, amount to an unanswerable argument in its favor. Should he be induced by this tacit approbation to intro-

duce the Union into Parliament, and thus leave no doubt of his intention to deprive us of our constitution, rest assured, that all your declamation afterwards will come with inefficacy, because it will then be peculiarly his interest to complete the work of your subjugation, that your Legislature may not afterwards have it in its power to proclaim the foul act to the world, and to secure its future existence, by placing it more out of the influence of the court.

Before you had a constitution that was worth that appellation, and when you were only speculating on the propable good effects that you might derive from possessing one, you assembled in your respective counties, and declared your determination no longer to submit to a nominal freedom, and to the actual miseries of a state of slavery. This sentiment resounded through your country; it gave vigor to the down-cast virtue of your independent representatives. They called for your emancipation in the dictatorial language of a patriotic people, and they obtained it. And shall you now, when it is not necessary to calculate on doubtful consequences in order to give energy to your souls and fluency to your tongues—when the consequent evils of a Union are as glaring as the Sun at noon day; and the existence of the benefits of our present system are to be seen wherever we turn our eyes or fix our thoughts? Shall we, under such circumstances, continue mute spectators of the occurrence of a measure which blasts all the hopes of our country for ever, and operate upon her constitution with the same obliterative influence as the grave operates on ourselves? If such shall be your conduct if you will allow the Minister to strip you of all your political advantages, and make no effort, nor express any concern on the occasion, be assured, he will avail himself of your meekness and taciturnity, and not only unite these kingdoms as he threatens, but unite them in the very best way possible for England, and the very worst way possible for Ireland. But if, on the other hand, you exert yourselves as becomes men, as becomes freemen, to baffle its success, though your exertions should prove ineffectual, you will still have the consolation of having discharged your duty, and the surrounding nations that will be witnesses of your conduct may lament your fate, but cannot despise your name—and though you will be doomed to bear a burthen on your back, you will be free from any disgrace on your brow.

A.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 15, 1799

No. IX.

Mortua quia etiam jangebatur corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora.
Complexu in misero longa sic morte necabat.

VIRG. ÆNEID. LIB. VIII.

MR. PITT, at his entrance upon his long ministry, pledged himself as a man and a minister, to support a parliamentary reform. I was not amongst the number who imputed the failure of the plan he proposed, to insincerity. Circumstanced as the parliament then was, it was not at all impossible, that a minister, even an eloquent minister, should lose a measure. That he did not immediately re-propose it, casts no imputation upon his sincerity. In a case not calling for immediate redress, it requires but little candour to allow some time for the search after a less exceptionable system, some time for learning the sentiments of the nation, and some time for making arrangements, which might facilitate its success in parliament.

During this interval, the doctrine of the rights of man was revealed in France, in all its plenitude; jacobinism, and French fraternity were taking root even in England, and the most tempestuous passions, were mixed with the most visionary speculations. In such a ferment of the human mind, and human feelings, Mr. Pitt concurred with many of the wisest and honestest men in England, in opposing even the discussion of any thing, which bore the semblance of popular innovation. Some very well-meaning men thought he carried this sentiment to an extreme, and that the most effectual antidote against revolution, was reform. They thought it not unreasonable to exemplify the best quality of the British Constitution, its recuperative energy, its power of self-correction, at the very moment when its defects were said to be incorrigible, and when the pride of speculative sagacity was telling up the inventions of the human mind, against the conclusions of experience, upon a subject of all others the most practical. *Stare decisis*, became however, the ministerial watch-word, and he would not suffer a constitution, which had worked so well, to be tampered with, even upon the clearest evidence of manifest abuse, and safe correction.

During the tempest of innovating fury, let us content ourselves with fortifying and preserving the constitution, such as it is; after the storm shall have passed away, we may exert ourselves in amending it. Such was the language of the minister, echoed thro' every part of England, and such became the decided sense of the nation.

It is amongst the worst and most general effects of revolutionary projects, that they raise that power too high, which they endeavour to sink too low. Nothing, I believe, is so deadly to liberty, as licentiousness, or to government, as tyranny. The republican extravagance in the reign of Charles I. was the principal cause, that Charles II. might, if he

fought it, have become despotic, and that a revolution became necessary in the reign of his successor. The mind of man naturally rushes to extremes. Such is now the horror of republicanism in England, that not only all pursuit of popular reform is abandoned; but people in general behold with indifference, the most valuable privileges of a British subject, suspended at the will of the minister, and the influence of the crown, *outgrowing the constitution*. Most certainly there never was a time when it was so unnecessary, and at the same time so easy, to increase that influence. This is a state of things, this is a temper of the public mind, which seldom exists in a free country, but during the prevalence of which, it is in the power of a crafty minister, to make that country cease to be free.

Do we discover any such design in the present minister? Do we see him making preparations to rescue himself and his successors, and their measures, for ever, from all popular controul, and constitutional responsibility? Do we see the son of Lord Chatham, making atonement to the Sovereign for the presumption of his father, and guarding the throne against the unsolicited intrusion of any officious adviser, and the disgusting necessity of attending in the choice of servants, to popular character, and popular recommendation? I argue not against the minister from his resisting the discussion of all questions of reform—neither do I decide against him from his various temporary violations of the best privileges of a British subject—or from the war in which we have been involved—the taxes which have been imposed—or the debt which has been so enormously augmented—or even from the honours which have been so profusely lavished—or the government patronage which has been extended by him, certainly beyond all past example, and possibly beyond all future cure. These things were suspicious and alarming, but not decisive. But is there any degree of confidence or credulity proof against the conviction which the proposed measure of an **UNION**, in addition to his other measures, must flash upon every rational mind, that there exists a deep, subtle, and systematic design, to subvert the British constitution, and that the anti-jacobin minister, the minister of kings, wishes to forget that he proceeded from the people, and is determined never to return to the source from whence he sprung? Reform, was, perhaps, wisely postponed to a period of tranquillity; but why is the season of war selected to carry an *anti-reform measure*, which must add more to the influence of the crown, than the most democratic plan, that ever was suggested (not excepting the Duke of Richmond's) would have subducted from it?

Is it possible that the people of England should be so engrossed by a single sentiment, as to be totally insensible to any other? Have they not capacity to perceive two ideas at once? Can they not contemplate at the same time, more than one part of that mixed system, which has been the pride of their ancestors, and the admiration of the world? Can

they not at the same time be loyal and free? Must the constitution be effaced to admit the king into their hearts, or if they feel for the constitution as their ancestors felt, must their loyalty give way? Such singleness of worship is not due to any thing human, and is treason against the sovereignty of the British constitution. I cannot presume such insatiation, and I look, my countrymen, with confidence, to the good sense of the people of England, for protection against the revolution with which you and they are equally menaced.

What are the advantages held out to that people to induce them to prostrate the constitution of their ancestors, under the feet of the minister?

This country, they are told, abounds with unexhausted, perhaps untried, sources of wealth. Its taxes as yet are light, and its debt, compared with its resources, a trifle. In fifteen years from the period of its constitutional and commercial freedom, it has prospered beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine. Ought young Ireland to be suffered to lean on old England, and not divide the burthen of debt and taxes under which she is staggering? Should not the resources of that rising country be substituted for assessed taxes, the sale of the royal forests, or perhaps of the church lands? Will not the whole wealth of that country, under any possible modification of an Union, be at the disposal of the British parliament, to be applied at the discretion of the British minister, to relieve the exigencies of the parent country? Do not the growing military propensities of Europe, and particularly of France, demonstrate that enormous standing armies must in future be kept on foot for the protection of the empire; and can any thing be more desirable than that the population of Ireland should be rendered completely subservient to that necessary purpose? That the manufacturer and husbandman of England should be spared, and the armies levied and paid by Ireland, and stationed in that country, where the empire is most vulnerable, and from whence, upon any emergency, they can be so readily transported to England or elsewhere?

The establishment of so great a military force as existing circumstances may probably in future require, is somewhat repugnant to the genius of the British constitution, and will not that necessary evil be much mitigated and reconciled to the feelings of Englishmen, even by the remoteness of the military station? By keeping Ireland as an imperial barrack, and a nursery of seamen. Besides the exchange of militia between the nations, which, after an Union will cease to be unconstitutional, and will become the constant practice, will give to that body all the vigour of a standing army, and will be a strong defence against the growth of faction, and revolutionary principles, in such a country.

Oh! insatuated and besotted English, if you are tricked out of your liberties by such false pretences, such shallow artifices? If you have forgotten the millions, which, seduced by similar suggestions, you squandered upon lost America! If you do not see, that if Ireland could be chained down to such a state of slavish and impoverishing dependence, the same arrangement, which gives the purse and the sword of that nation to your minister, gives him uncontroulable dominion over your liberties.

I repeat it that these pretences are false, or at best, but secondary motives in the mind of the minister. He already commands the resources of Ireland, as much as is necessary for the general good of the empire. 'Tis the increased influence of the crown in the British parliament, about which he is solicitous. When I perceive one consequence from a proposed innovation, more certain, more immediate, and more important, than all others united, I cannot credit that that consequence has been the inducement to the measure. I would as soon believe the minister that the opening the Scheld was the real cause of the war with France, as I would, that the hundred votes which he will add to his following in the British parliament, is not his prime motive for proposing an Union.

But as it often happens, that very different language is spoken upon the same subject by the same party, upon different occasions, I should not be much surpris'd at hearing it said, that the presumed servility and dependance of the Irish representatives, in the united parliament, is a libel upon the Irish nation, and that they will be incorruptible guardians of the interests and rights of their constituents, and independent members of the British senate.

Upon the patriotism or independence of an absentee legislature, under any circumstances, I should place but very little reliance. Will there be any thing in the appointment or condition of the Irish representatives in England, to distinguish them from those of Scotland, or expatriated legislators of any other country? I shall take the most favourable case: I shall suppose them elected from the counties; I pass over the appointment of every returning officer, and consequently the command of every return by the minister; I dwell not upon the mockery of a petition to Westminster, or to a dependent and degraded parliamentary junto in Dublin; I suppose the hundred members elected, transported, and stationed, in the British parliament. What a formidable phalanx of Irish virtue, to a corrupt minister! Surely the English nation will be stunned by the declamations of Irish Patriots, in support of poor Ireland. I confess I have very slight fears for the minister upon that score, when I reflect, that the expences of a London residence to a dissipated Irishman must be recruited at St. James's; that national prejudices will be softened down by ministerial intercourse; that the whole paragonage of Ireland, which the advocates for an Union have told you has completely weaned three hundred representatives from their constituents, with whom they were in contact, may be applied to one hundred of the same men with the ocean rolling between them; that the example of Scotland shews how persuasive a minister always is to an absentee member of parliament; and that as nothing can ever be obtained by your representative for himself or his country but through the favor of the minister, he will always be a most patriotic courtier.

Oh, illustrious and immortal Chatham! Is it then, thus, your lineal descendant, the inheritor of your fame, commutes his patrimony for power? Is it thus he would realize your wife and grand conceptions? Is it thus he would pour new blood and fresh vigor into that parliament which gave birth to your talents, and sent you forth the minister of the

constitution of Great Britain—the scourge of its enemies—the pride of its subjects, and the guardian of its liberties? If one hundred additional votes had been in possession of the minister, could the voice of Lord Chatham have ever reached the throne through the constitutional organ of the people's will? Could a corrupt, incapable, and unpopular minister, who was a favorite, ever have been removed without a revolution? If one hundred additional votes be now given to the crown, can the son of Lord Chatham, or any future minister who shall be a favorite, be removed without a revolution? Mr. Fox's last India bill, it was said, would have subverted the constitution by stripping the crown of patronage, which, it was computed, might have influenced one hundred votes between the two houses of parliament. Can the constitution stand, when one hundred votes in the house of commons alone, are at once added to the overgrown influence of the crown? I do not say that the people of England ought, at this crisis, to speculate upon projects of reform, but if they solicit or submit to an *anti-reform measure* of such portentous magnitude, they are no longer worthy of the constitution of their ancestors, and if they barter their liberties for speculations of profit or gain, they are as unwise as they are unworthy.

The commerce of England has arrived at its present unparalleled prosperity under the culture and protection of that free constitution, to the growth of which it so amply contributed, and by which it has been so profusely repaid its early obligations. It cannot long survive that constitution. Let no man believe that trade can flourish upon the ruins of liberty:—the voice of history uniformly negatives the supposition. Under any simple form of government, which must be more or less despotic, property must be insecure, and commerce imperfectly encouraged and protected. In man the love of acquiring and hoarding is not mere instinct. He will not, like the industrious bee, collect treasures of which he may be plundered at pleasure, and which may become a bounty against his life.

But it may be said, that one hundred members is more than ought to be allotted to Ireland upon an Union. I answer—that if the principles of our present constitution be observed, and that the new system be designed for perpetuity, double that number would be nearer the equitable proportion, which should be governed by the relative population, territory, and wealth of the respective countries, and not as these things now are, but as they probably will be, when the commercial aptitudes of this country shall be fully ripened. Can any man believe that it is seriously intended to call forth and encourage the resources of this country, and give it in future a due weight in the common legislature, and also, say, that one hundred members out of six hundred and fifty-five would be a due proportion for the permanent state of Ireland?

But as an Irishman I wave this silly competition. Two hundred absentee representatives would be too few for Ireland, and fifty would be too many for the British constitution. It is my solemn opinion, that if the measure must be carried, every enlightened Irishman should exert himself to reduce the number, and, if possible, to avoid sending any. If we

are to depend upon the liberality of a foreign parliament, let us not corrupt and degrade that parliament by so unwholesome an infusion. If our parliament be attainted, and must perish, let us have no such unrighteous resurrection. As long as these remain in England, a feeling for the high privileges of a British subject, and that the parliament be not totally enslaved, there will be found feeling and enlightened men who will not be indifferent to the government of this country; who will think personal liberty in some danger there, if it be totally trodden down here. But when a hundred Irish voices are added to the chorus of the minister, I should despair that any man should ever be heard in support of British, not to speak of Irish, liberties, if, indeed, any man should be bold and sanguine enough to lift his voice in opposition in such an assembly.

As to the silly notion that we shall be secure because all laws must be universal, and therefore, equal, I answer, that if such a rule shall inflexibly prevail, there is an end to the constitutional rights of Englishmen; and if it be violated, Ireland is devoted to the lash of despotism.

Are Englishmen ready to consent that the habeas corpus act shall be suspended in England; that government by proclamation shall supersede government by law; that the press shall be silenced at the pleasure of the crown; or that they shall be liable to be transported to Botany Bay by inferior magistrates, without trial by jury, whenever treasonable practices shall be discovered in Ireland, or imputed to that ill-fated country? Are Irishmen satisfied that a foreign legislature—I beg pardon—a legislature in a foreign country shall give to them, exclusively, the blessing or the curse (it will be differently denominated) of such laws and such government? No infatuation can tempt the English so to cling to us, that the poignard which stabs our liberties must penetrate theirs. The very contrary will take place. In diversity of law they will seek an antidote against identity of legislature—they will endeavour, by every possible means of artificial distinction, to separate from us, and to prevent the mortification which already begins to appear in our political state from spreading to theirs.

But it may be said, that the laws to which I allude are temporary laws, and temporary laws may be different, though perpetual laws, by the terms of the Union, may be decided to be always the same.

Need I answer, that a law for one hundred years is a temporary law, and that an annual law may be revived for an hundred years. Is any man so giddy from youth, or from health, or from any other cause, as to imagine, if an Union shall take place, that he will live to see the habeas corpus act restored, or a repeal of any of those temporary statutes, under which the genius of our constitution languishes, and the pressure of which she cannot long survive. The very Union itself will furnish a cause, or a pretence, for continuing them, until slavery becomes the habit of the country.

But though it is clear, that Englishmen will endeavour to separate their political condition from ours, it is equally clear, that they will finally and soon fail.

Familiar contemplation of adjacent slavery will blunt that sensibility which has been an Englishman's best protection

against oppression. Will the Londoner, whom I have seen fired with indignation at the interference of the military to seize a pick-pocket, continue the same political man, after he has been trained and habituated to the military government of his new countrymen in Ireland? I smiled at the unsuitable and ridiculous explosion of civic pride, but I considered it a glorious symptom. Similar intemperance after an Union will not long continue to be the failing of Englishmen. Our condition will not long continue unequal. The Irish senator who cannot, or will not, defend the rights of his country, will avenge her wrongs upon British freedom. That unwieldy fabric which the minister is rearing in Westminster, I contemplate as a monument, in which the rights and privileges of all the subjects of the empire will be soon buried together. In the grave, at least, there will be equality, but in the political grave, I fear there will not be repose.

Is any man so timid, or so stolid, as to seek refuge from the storms of jacobinism in the delusive stillness of despot-

ism? How rash is the pusillanimity of such a man? How palpable the absurdity of separating the representative from the constituent body of a whole nation; of narrowing the foundation, and widening the superstructure of our constitution in such stormy and troublous times? Union is a captivating name. The temptation from influence to a minister is great. But let him beware, that the seeds of jacobinism lurk in every free country; that they have already thrown out some shoots in England; that nothing so much tends to quicken and vivify them as the encroachments of power; and finally, that a legislative Union tending to despotism, on the one side, may engender a national Union, leading to anarchy upon the other. The subject becomes too great and too interesting. My mind shrinks from these frightful extremes. I fly to the sanctuary of the constitution, and I invite my countrymen to follow me, and defend it against the frenzy of a minister, as well as the fury of a mob.

Y.

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No. X.

TO THE
EDITORS of the ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

IF it be not inconsistent with your plan, to occasionally relax the severity of more serious discussion, by a short ESSAY not of a political nature, I shall request your attention to an attempt at that most interesting species of writing, the ENGLISH NOVEL. This Tale is founded upon facts, and tho' of a domestic character, may, perhaps, reconcile itself to your general system, by shewing, that in private, as well as public transactions, THE WANT OF PRINCIPLE IS ALWAYS FATAL.

P.

A TRUE STORY.

..... en dextra fidesq :

VIRG. ÆN. LIB. IV.

WE shall conceal the real name of the hero of this Tale, in the assumed appellation of Mr. Britton. He was a man of fortune and reputation, prosperous and popular, esteemed amongst his neighbours, a valuable friend, and a formidable enemy. His character, however, upon close inspection, exhibited that mixture of qualities, which, however contradictory they may appear, frequently consist in human nature. He was brave and generous, but selfish and envious; he was obstinate, yet ductile, and whimsical, tho' intelligent; his mind was cultivated, yet not liberalized; he regulated his private life by the severest and wisest controul, but in his transactions with others, his notions of justice seldom transgressed that limit by which his own interests circumscribed his duties. In such transactions he pursued his self-gratification beyond the bounds of prudence, and the catastrophe which this narrative contains, is plainly deducible from the indulgence of unwarrantable desires. In his youth, and shortly after he had settled his affairs, (for his property, which he inherited from many different relations, had been somewhat embarrassed) he became enamoured of a young lady, who lived in the West, and whose singular beauty and accomplishments had made her the object of general admiration. She was of a most ancient and respectable family, in that respect, the equal, perhaps the superior, of her admirer; she was singularly beautiful, and of that stile, that could not but captivate a man of taste. It was not the

beauty of the court, or the fashion of the drawing-room, but her graces were those of the fresh mountain nymph. Health, vigour and youth, glowed in her cheek, and intelligence beamed in her eye. She had been well-educated, and was highly accomplished; her performance on the harp was exquisite, and she accompanied the instrument in strains of the wildest genius and richest melody. Her temper, tho' quick, was amiable, and her intellectual characteristics were acuteness and vivacity. She was the heiress of an extensive estate, which, tho' somewhat uncultivated, was highly improveable. In short, she united every thing which could captivate the imagination, or engage the affections. Mr. Britton beheld her with eyes of desire, but tho' in every respect she would have been an eligible match, yet his pride would not suffer him to think of an honourable connexion. His vicious schemes were encouraged by a steward, who managed his affairs, and by whose advice he was generally governed. This man's name was Henry, he was gifted with talents, had much ambition, and little principle, and had acquired such an ascendancy over his employer, that he ruled him as he pleased. By the depraved suggestions of this bad adviser, Mr. Britton conceived the base and profligate project, of violating the honor of the woman he loved, and by the same unprincipled agency, he was enabled to carry this flagitious design into execution. In a fatal moment, the ravisher overpowered her defenceless innocence, and invading the rights of hospitality and honor, he barbarously triumphed over that virtue, which a better heart, or a wiser head, would have taught him to attach and conciliate. Her friends deeply resented this outrage, and made several unsuccessful efforts to avenge it, but Mr. Britton was a man of fortune and resources, and the issue of a conflict, in which feeble and indignant honor was opposed to prosperous insolence, it was not difficult to foresee. They were obliged to submit—and the unfortunate and degraded lady, acquiesced in a life of dependent concubinage. The history of human nature, and the analysis of the female character, concur with universal experience, in accounting for the ultimate consequence of this event; Ierne, (for that was the lady's name) became fond of her violator; and to the first emotions of resentment, and wounded pride, succeeded those tenderer sentiments, that result from the intimacy of a connexion, which, however formed, nature always sanctifies by the most endearing sympathies; in truth, Mr. Britton was amiable, and want of sensibility was no part of Ierne's character. A race of lovely children, strongly resembling both parents, drew the bonds of mutual affection still closer; and in the lover, the invader of her honor was very soon forgotten by Ierne. In an enviable state of felicity they lived several years, their sons were brave, their

daughters chaste; their confidence in each other encreased; their common interest flourished and improved; he was industrious, she was laborious; universal respect rewarded their united merit, and the world was liberal enough, almost to forget the circumstances of their first acquaintance. It occurred to Mr. Britton, who had much generosity in his nature, that a woman who had conducted herself with such propriety, and contributed so essentially to his happiness, who had identified her interests with his, who had forgiven his injuries, and lavishly submitted her property to his disposal, deserved every recompense in his power to bestow; he therefore determined, in a moment of magnanimous feeling, to make her his wife, (or according to a vulgar phrase) to make her an honest woman. His former ill-adviser, Henry, had been long since dead, and he was at this time very much under the influence of a respectable successor of the steward's, whose name was George. This worthy man encouraged him in this virtuous intention, and he shortly afterwards carried it into execution. He had recently suffered much sorrow, and agreeably to the constant operation of affliction, it had softened his heart, and awakened his compunction. A young lady who lived in his family, (and whom, as she is still alive, we shall, from motives of delicacy, call Columbia) had, from some disagreements of temper, eloped from his house to America. He pursued her at great expence and hazard, but ultimately failed to recover her. This, and other matters, had highly mortified him; and in this temper of mind, he took the step I have related, and led to the altar his old and attached friend. Some of the illiberal and profligate of his acquaintance, remonstrated with him upon the folly of marrying a person, whom they stiled by names of the most unqualified abuse, and urged many worldly and cautious arguments, in support of their opinion. But Mr. Britton was under the influence of a generous moment, and the wedding was celebrated with much pomp and rejoicings. The date of this auspicious connexion, so honorable to both parties, was the year 1782, the bride (being an orphan) was given away by the Duke of Portland, a nobleman then considered Mr. Britton's particular friend, and every thing was conducted in a manner complimentary to the feelings, and advantageous to the interests, of the parties. Mr. Britton's prudence and generosity concurred in a liberal arrangement as to settlements, and as he had already experienced her munificent disposition, he consented that her fortune should be at her own disposal, notwithstanding her coverture. Never was there a marriage which promised more felicity, and never was there one more calculated to produce it, but alas! happiness, which so often, and so unjustly, we consign to the dominion of fate, depends upon ourselves; and if it were not for Mr. Britton's own conduct, he might this day have been an enviable man. A good heart can easily imagine, but the best language could with difficulty express, the joy which filled the conscious heart of Ierne. She always loved, she now respected, Mr. Britton, and

his honorable conduct had now enabled her to respect herself. Tears of gratitude and affection glistened in her eye, while honest pride and dignity swelled in her bosom;—her situation and rank rose, and she rose with them; she seemed to grow young again, and bloomed with such new charms, that Mr. Britton often regretted, that he had not sooner done justice to her, and credit to himself. She was visited by the best company, and several foreign ladies of punctilious delicacy, who would scarcely acknowledge her before, now courted her acquaintance, and were proud of exchanging civilities with her. This happy couple continued for a few years to lead a life of the most exemplary felicity, when a young gentleman from France arrived in the neighbourhood, and was the first interruption of their happiness. He was a youth of very loose morals, and abandoned principles, but of a most plausible and imposing demeanour. His affairs had lately undergone a dangerous revolution, and the ingenuity peculiar to his country, had suggested to him a new and strange expedient for recruiting his finances. He travelled almost all over Europe, and even to America, in search of intrigues, and too frequently succeeded. His person was handsome, his exterior captivating, and his manners insinuating. Few women were proof against his allurements, and some most respectable ladies now lament the facility with which they listened to his addresses. He was such a refined votary of vice, that he was not content to seduce the affections, unless he also debauched the principles of his victim; and the consummation of his crimes was often the murder of the husband, and always the plunder of the family. This dangerous gallant, conceived the profligate enterprize of corrupting the fidelity of Ierne, and displayed all the resources of his seduction, for that purpose. He worked upon all the most obvious passions of her bosom, alarmed her jealousy, flattered her vanity, reminded her of the early injuries, and the tardy penitence of Mr. Britton, represented that gentleman's declining age, and growing infirmities, with ridicule, vaunted his own youth, beauty and vigour, offered the most tempting rewards, affected the most disinterested passion, and left no avenue to the frailty of the female heart, unapproached or unassailed; nor did he forget the usual artifice of bribing several of the servants of the family. Mrs. Britton listened, but only listened, to the voice of the seducer, she permitted him to proceed to such lengths, as would enable her to ascertain his villainy: she afterwards armed the most able of her domestics, and the most respectable of her tenants, with orders to horsewhip the intruder, whenever he should have the insolence to approach her, and she then made a private, but full, communication, and *secret report* to Mr. Britton of all the spark's proceedings from the beginning. Mr. Britton's resentment may be easily conceived; it was not the less when he recollected that an elder branch of this Lothario's family had been instrumental to the elopement of his ward, Columbia, to America, he therefore, took his measures

accordingly, dogged the gallant, and when he found him fairly within the forbidden precincts, attacked him vigorously, and in the rencontre, wounded him in two places. This, for the time, put an end to the foreigner's intrusive visits, and he afterwards betook himself to a scheme against the virtue of a gipsy girl, who was supposed to have a private key to the strong box of a nabob. After this transaction, Mr. Britton received the greatest credit for his spirit, and Ierne for her virtue. Mr. Britton was lavish in his eulogies upon her propriety, thanked her publicly, and declared to all his neighbours that he was indebted to her good sense and decorum for the preservation of his honor. It was generally suspected that such an event would only have proved a renewal of that attachment which constituted the happiness of his life; but how hard is it to predict conclusions which depend upon the uncertainty or caprice of human passions? Mr. Britton, with all the means of comfort and respectability in his power, suffered himself to be interrupted in his happy career by one of those fits of wayward and whimsical humour which, we have already hinted, constituted a singular exception to the general value of his character. The truth is, he was what the world sometimes calls splenetic, sometimes an humourist, sometimes an oddity, and surely, upon this occasion, he became possessed by one of the most fanciful and unaccountable extravagancies that ever made free with the human intellect. It was a freak so unprecedented, so unwarranted, so independent of all motive and temptation, that mere folly is insufficient to solve the difficulties which result from the consideration of it. Mr. Britton took it into his head to obtain a divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* from the amiable partner of his bed, and absolutely determined to carry this project into execution. — The fact is, that the libertine example of the Frenchman had excited the emulation, while it provoked the resentment of Mr. Britton, and so strange are the anomalies of the human heart, that he could not resist the commission of the very crime which he had so recently punished in another. It did not appear the result of satiety, or that he was tired of the lady, for he expressed his resolution to continue to live with her upon their old free terms, with this difference only, that under the new arrangement her property was to be at his sole disposal, and the future connection, though voluntary upon his part, was to be compulsory on hers. Mr. Britton had naturally a good heart, and therefore, this infatuated and profligate design must not be imputed to his mere uninfluenced suggestion. He had a favorite servant, called William, a shrewd man who had gradually wormed himself into the honest gentleman's confidence, to which he had first introduced himself by offering an ingenious plan for repairing the old family mansion, which, however, was never afterwards accomplished. He had, afterwards involved his master deeply in debt, and from these causes, had acquired a considerable ascendancy both over the mind of Mr. Britton, and of George, the steward. This fellow had observed that Ierne, ever

since her marriage, had required more attention than formerly, and an old grudge he owed her for having had an opinion of her own when Mr. Britton was sick, and George out of order, concurred with an indolent desire to have only the management of a bachelor's house, and determined him to degrade and insult our heroine upon the first opportunity. This opportunity was furnished to his malignant mind by the adventure with the French gallant, and he lost no time to avail himself of it. Shortly after that adventure, Ierne had become, in consequence of her agitation, subject to nervous paroxysms, and occasional convulsions, and these melancholy symptoms which should only have excited the sympathy and commiseration of her husband, were employed by this artful Iago to excite his suspicions, and alarm his jealousy. It was not easy to find a pretence; and indeed so much was the public shocked by the business, that it was not easy to find a lawyer to justify the proceeding. However, Mr. Britton was an opulent and powerful man, and an advocate was not wanting. As the suit was not to be in a court where the common law is recognized, he retained an eminent foreign professor of the *Cannon* law. This learned gentleman, whose name was *Docteur Coquin*, made very light of the unpopularity of his client's case, and immediately (tho' it was a summary cause) exhibited a voluminous *libel*. This was considered one of the most extraordinary pleadings that ever encumbered the files of a court of justice. It alleged various unjust charges against Ierne, and indeed was not over-sparing of the character of Mr. Britton. It seemed to have no object but the success of the suit, *per fas atque nefas*, for it abounded in contradictions and falsehoods. It laboured to establish the most fantastical positions upon the most unsupported inventions, and in order, if possible, to prevent Ierne from wishing to contest it, strenuously endeavoured to exasperate and inflame the quarrel between the parties, and to represent the connection of man and wife in which they stood to each other, as a relation of natural antipathy and variance. It did not forbear to ridicule the sanctity of their Union, and the sacred denunciation of—*those whom God hath joined let no man put asunder*—and openly and impudently argued, to the scandal of all morals, that concubinage was a more natural, and therefore, a more decent connection than matrimony. It asserted, with unprecedented effrontery, that the French gentleman whom Mr. Britton had lately wounded, was a man of taste and high authority, and that he, upon all occasions, preferred fornication to edwlock. That while Mrs. Britton was a *feme covert*, she could not raise money on her estate to pay Mr. Britton's debts without the consent of the trustees in her settlement. That besides, it was a matter of economy, for that the establishment of a kept mistress was much less expensive than that of a wife. That ladies of easy virtue had a more unrestrained commerce with the world; but that, at all events, it was impossible to pronounce against the benefits of the change before it should be tried; and that all pre-

liminary objections to the abstract principle, were of course, premature. It was easy to see that Mr. Britton's advocate argued like Jupiter when he thundered, and that it was useless to answer arguments of such high authority. However, poor and forlorn as Ierne was, she was not totally defenceless. Several eminent counsel were *volunteers* for her; many of them those who had settled her marriage articles; many respectable gentlemen and citizens assured her of their countenance, and the merchants and bankers of her neighbourhood informed her she should not want for money. One honest and intelligent man was particularly strenuous in her interests—he was connected with her by the tender relation of *Foster-brother*, had been always her friend—had witnessed and promoted her prosperity—and upon this trying occasion, the most seducing temptations were in vain held out to corrupt his fidelity. The cause went on, and her advocates exhibited many learned and eloquent pleadings, and there was little doubt, if issue had been fairly joined thereupon, that the determination must have been favorable to Ierne. But in this stage of the cause *Doct^r Coquin* pleaded a peremptory exception to the admissibility of her defence, in which he principally contended, that her weak state of health was a conclusive reason why she should make no objection. He relied, for this point, upon a position of the *Cannon law*. Impartial men considered the point strong, but not convincing, however, the suit was in the court of *prerogative*, a tribunal supposed to be favorable to Mr. Britton; and though it went to the *delegates*, a similar bias was suspected to operate there, and the cause was determined against her. Many of her friends advised her to make an ultimate appeal to the court *above* of final jurisdiction, but she found herself so weak and exhausted by her late indisposition, and her mind so harassed and weakened by the ill treatment she had received, that she resolved to submit without any further *immediate* effort.

The consequences of this extraordinary affair may well be imagined: Mr. Britton in vain sought for his irrecoverable happiness. The loving, ardent, faithful wife had vanished; and the injured, abject, cold and reluctant slave remained. Love was for ever fled. She returned not careles which she loathed, and submitted to, rather than participated. Permanent disgust brooded over the vision of distant revenge; and Mr. Britton, conscious that he could not be loved, precipitated into the usual corruption of the human heart, and determined that he should be feared. Gloomy and vigilant tyranny became the necessary guardian of insincere and involuntary obedience, and enjoying neither the freedom of their first connection, nor the honorable obligations of their seconds, he experiences all the uncertainty of the one, while she feels more than the chains of the other. Her property, that formerly she cheerfully lavished upon his necessities, which she anticipated, she now suffers to be taken in sulky and despairing acquiescence. Mr. Britton has become an unhappy man—he

has lost the respect of his friends; and exposed himself to the attacks of his enemies. He often laments that he took the advice of William, and regrets the fatal day when he at once violated his honor and his interest. His health is rapidly declining; and from being a full, handsome man, with no appearance of disease but a tendency to plethora, he now exhibits all the symptoms of morbid melancholy, and a rapid consumption.

As to Ierne, her condition is pitiable and alarming; deep affliction overpowers, while conscious virtue scarcely sustains her. The profligate Frenchman has availed himself of the family dissensions, and renewed his abandoned addresses. While female resentment kindles, female virtue totters. The tears flow plenteous from her eyes, but the hectic of indignation glows in her cheek. She often exclaims—“ Foolish and unprincipled man, how happy might we have been together! I plighted thee my troth, and would have been proud to be thine to my latest hour, but I am abandoned, betrayed and forlorn, and it little matters what becomes of an injured spirit, and a broken heart.”

The following Letters were communicated to us by the Gentlemen to whom they were addressed.

TO THE TOWN CLERK OF LIMERICK.

SIR,

I HAVE great satisfaction in acquainting you that when the Legislative Union takes place, the Mediterranean fleet will be stationed at the mouth of the Shannon. It is conceived by his majesty's ministers, that after that event, it will be the most convenient position for observing the motions of the enemy at Alexandria, Corfu and Malta. Please to keep this information secret from the great men and merchants of Cork, as it would create jealousies in that quarter that might embarrass the measure.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

ROGER GOWER, Clk. of the Hofiers.

TO THE TOWN CLERK OF CORK.

SIR,

I HAVE great satisfaction in acquainting you, that when the Legislative Union takes place, the Mediterranean fleet will be stationed at Cork Harbour; it is conceived by his majesty's ministers, that after that event, it will be the most convenient position for observing the motions of the enemy at Alexandria, Corfu, and Malta; please to keep this information secret from the great men and merchants of Limerick, as it would create jealousies in that quarter, that might embarrass the measure.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

ROGER GOWER, Clk. of the Hofiers.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1799.

No. XI.

TO THE ELECTORS OF ULSTER.

“Light sorrows speak—great grief is dumb.”

How well the poet understood human nature, appears from your conduct. When your causes of complaint were trifling, you rent the air with your cries. Now that you are about to be sacrificed on the altar of British aggrandizement, a single murmur does not escape your lips. The magnitude of the attempt deprives you of motion—the swelling of your heart chokes your utterance, and you stare in silent astonishment at the hand which is raised against your life. To what else am I to impute it, that when the existence of Ireland is at stake the voice of the North has not yet been heard? When a constitution was to be carried by the sword, you stood proudly forward in the foremost ranks—when abuses had crept into that constitution, you were ready to shed your best blood for their reform—yet now that your parliament is about to be extinguished, and the right of legislating for Ireland is, like its crown, to be inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain—now that that constitution which you earned in the field, is about to be filched from you in the cabinet, and the very name of Ireland to be blotted out from the catalogue of nations—you stand, the mute, and as if indifferent spectators, of the scene. But perhaps you are ignorant of the nature of the act which your silence is about to sanction. Perhaps you imagine that the surrender you are called upon to make, is temporary, and that you may again resume your rights at pleasure—Let me undeceive you.—The decree which is to establish the political ideosy of Irishmen, and to vest for ever in the crown, the disposal of their persons and property, is *irrevocable*. Convinced then, of the great awfulness of the occasion, how shall I impress that conviction on your minds? In what words shall I address you, by what ties shall I conjure you to spare to your afflicted country, the miseries of internal war? And you, who so lately in the cause of reform, thought “no risk too great, no sacrifice too much,” how shall I rekindle in your breasts that flame, which seems to have consumed itself by its own heat? Is then that constitution, which you so eminently contributed to gain, no longer dear to you? Has liberty lost all its charms, or is the existence of your country become an object of indifference? Were your efforts in the cause of reform, the last convulsive throes of an expiring patriotism? Or is it excessive sensibility, which I mistake for apathy? Is it, that, enthusiast-

ic in the cause of reform, you abandon, in disgust, a constitution whose abuses you have in vain laboured to correct? Look into the political history of your country, since the year 1782; you will there read, that scarce a year has gone by, without adding something to the beauty or solidity of the structure, which your exertions then reared. Believe me, my friends, the most perfect state of rational liberty, is not so remote as you may imagine. It requires no exertion for its attainment. Public virtue grows spontaneously out of private independence. Even now, whilst I write, the secret operations of nature, are silently working that reformation, which the impatient hand of art, in vain endeavours to precipitate.

But let us for a while stifle every honest feeling, and consider the question of an UNION, as dispassionately as an *Irishman* can—let us compare your present political condition, with what it will be when the intended *revolution* shall have been effected:—You have now a native parliament sitting in your country—possessing the power, when it has the will, to promote the welfare, or protect the liberties, of Ireland. A parliament, whose conduct you can witness, whose motions you can watch, whose determinations in great national questions, you have ever controlled, whose interests are the interests of Ireland;—You will then have no parliament—the few individuals whom the *minister of England* will cull out to qualify with the title of your representatives, will not have the power, if they have the will, to protect your interests; the assembly which you will have invested with the absolute right to dispose of your property and your persons, will sit in a foreign country, its conduct you cannot witness, its motions you cannot watch, its determinations you cannot controul, its interests will not be the interests of Ireland—its members will not be Irishmen. In the *British* House of Commons, which will then consist of 656 members, ninety-eight are to sit under the name of the representatives of Ireland;—should each of those ninety-eight, possess all the public and private virtues of a Charlemont, or the commercial knowledge, and steady patriotism of a Foster, it would not avail; in all questions where the interests of England and Ireland should clash, there would be a clear majority of 460, against your country. What then must be the case, when the whole corrupt influence of Great Britain and Ireland, is concentrated almost in a point, and brought to bear upon 98 individuals, divested of national partiality, regardless of national fame, not condemned to witness the melancholy effects of their prostitution, or to meet the reproachful eye of their indignant constituents? Such an arrangement is grossly mis-called, when it is denominated “an Union.” It is not the whole Irish parliament, joined to the whole British par-

liament, possessing each a negative voice where the interests of its peculiar country are concerned, and uniting their common wisdom for the common benefit. It is not a delegation, from the *existing* parliament of Ireland meeting a proportionable delegation from the parliament of Great Britain, invested with equal powers, on the confines of the two kingdoms, to concert measures for their mutual safety, and mutual advantage. No. It is a *selection* by the *minister of England* of a few individuals from the Irish parliament, (which is thenceforth to cease to exist) to be melted down into the entire mass of the British legislature. Should ninety-eight natives of Ireland happen to sit for English boroughs in the British House of Commons, what would you think of the Irishman who should, on that account propose the total abolition of the legislature of Ireland? Yet believe me, your condition would then be infinitely preferable, enjoying, as you would, the British constitution in its purity, to what it will be, if, by an Union, you put one-sixth of the representation of Great Britain and Ireland at once into the hands of a minister already too powerful. But you are told tranquillity will be restored, all parties satisfied, property secured, and the connection between the two kingdoms cemented by such an arrangement. Will universal discontent produce universal tranquillity? Will it satisfy the Catholic to be shut out for ever from that which has so long been the object of his most earnest wishes? Will the total extinction of parliament, and the transfer of its legislative authority to the *crown*, content the moderate reformist? Or will the establishment of absolute monarchy reconcile the zealous republican? Will property be secured by an universal desire for a change, or the connection between the two kingdoms cemented by alienating the affections of one of them? These are questions to which I require no answer. Commercial advantages are next held out to you. On this subject I ought to speak with diffidence, conscious that I am addressing men, whose extensive and varied commerce, and whose residence in a manufacturing country, must necessarily render them the best possible judges of the commercial interests of Ireland—but there are some *facts* which I know, and there are some *truths* which are self-evident. I know that tricks have been practised to impose on the ignorant, to deceive the credulous, and to allure the selfish; and that these, in some places, have had their effect—but I apprehend not that effect from them with you. When you are told of commercial advantages, you will naturally ask “from whom are we to derive them?” And when you are answered, “from Britain”—that Britain, which is to lose precisely as you gain, and which now tries every paltry artifice to lure you into a connection by which she is to be so much injured. When you are informed, that it is Britain that so anxiously presses you to accept this extension of trade, this amelioration of constitution:—Britain, from whose dead grasp you were forced to wrest whatever you have gained of commerce, or of constitution. When you are told, that it is the

British merchant who calls upon you, in all the overflowing of his generous heart, to share in his profits; are you not, my friends, led to suspect the nature of the gift, from the known disposition of the giver?—But what are the commercial advantages which are to be the price of your independence? The ports of the two countries are to be laid open:—Those of England are already so to our provisions, to our linens, and to colonial produce going from this country;—With what can we supply the English that we do not already? On the other hand, except our linen, our other manufactures exist but under protecting duties, and must perish as soon as those are taken off. Large capital, long credit, plenty of money, and the consequent lowness of interest, superior industry, and superior skill, give the English a decided and uniform advantage:—Add to this, the influence of another cause, which, though occasional in its immediate operation, is lasting and fatal in its remote effects. In the English market, there happen frequent gluts;—when these take place, which is always when credit is lowest, manufactured goods will be poured into Ireland, and as it will be an object to the English manufacturer, to get his money on any terms, they will be sold at an undervalue, to the lasting ruin of the Irish manufacturer. Nor will your linen trade escape unhurt;—that linen trade, for the security of which you gave up the woollen, but which the Union still purports to secure, and for which you are still called upon to make further sacrifices. You all know that the poor linen weaver can scarce subsist on his present wages.—The immediate consequence of the Union, as (besides the acquisition of inordinate power) it is the cause of it, will be an enormous increase of taxes. The necessities of life must rise in price prodigiously. The wages of the weaver must rise with them—or he must starve—many, no doubt, will do so. The linen merchant cannot lay the additional price on his invoice—the trade will not bear it—his profits must be reduced—and this reduction must increase every year with the increase of taxes, which is the cause of it:—This will operate doubly against him; for in proportion as from the increased price of every thing, his expences increase, in the same proportion must the profits of his trade be diminished. To the importing merchant I need say little:—It will naturally occur to him that his trade must suffer in proportion as manufactures fail, and consumption decreases. His cotton wool, his Barilla, and all the other articles which an industrious and thriving country requires, must then lie locked up in his stores. Add to all this, the continued drain of money out of the country, by absentees, at present admitted to exceed a MILLION, annually! but which must then infinitely increase. Figure to yourselves, then, my friends, the appearance of this country—figure to yourselves a miserable and neglected peasantry! knowing nothing of their landlord, but by his exactions! and tracing his periodical progress, like that of the hurricane, only by the desolation he carries in his train!—Figure to yourselves, fields uncultivated,

villages deserted, your streets swarming with half-famished wretches, imploring a miserable subsistence from the charity of that country, which their industry might have contributed to enrich, and their ingenuity to adorn!—figure to yourselves these things, my friends, and you will have a faint idea of the consequences of an Union—consequences of which the citizens of Dublin have already expressed their unanimous and unequivocal sentiments. The eyes of Ireland are fixed upon the NORTH! May its ancient spirit re-animate its breast! May its deliberations be tempered with the same wisdom, and its conduct sustained by the same firmness!—May the voice which spoke at Dungannon again be heard!—And may Ireland once more hail, as the Saviours of their Country, the Men of Ulster!

Dublin, 15th Jan. 1799.

H. J.

Shall I ascribe this torpor to a defect of national virtue—to a listless attachment to the cause of liberty—to a stupid ignorance of their own interests—or to the criminal hope, that the disastrous effects of this measure, will touch with but a feeble hand, the people of the present day, and that it will be only on their children and their successors, that its calamities will operate?

..... ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?

HOR.

JOE MILLER, many a time and oft,
At thy delightful Tales I've laugh'd:
But search the volume through and through,
My favourite's this:—(page forty two.)

A ship, with goods of every sort
Was bound to a far distant port:
The sailors were about a score,
The passengers as many more.
With weather fine, and favouring breeze,
They now had travers'd half the seas;—
When sudden clouds obscure the skies,
And angry winds begin to rise:
Th' experienced seamen well aware,
To meet th' approaching storm prepare:
The passengers the deck forsake,
And to their berths themselves betake.
The tempest roars, the lightnings flash,
The whelming waves the vessel lash;
A leak is sprung—the seamen strain,
But on them fast the waters gain.—
All hands aloft!—the captain cries;
All to the pump—or never rise!
Peace—cried the passengers—no more,
But toss your weighty cargo o'er;
Out with your lumber to the deep,
Lighten her load, and save your ship.—
To help your advice, no one stirs,
For we are only passengers.
They did not stir:—Another gust
Into their sinking hammocks burst:
The ship in thousand splinters broke.—
They lost their lives—but had their joke.

Difficile est satyram non scribere.

JUVEN.

GREAT and unheard of advantages of the intended UNION, most preposterously believed by ninety-nine in an hundred, to be ruinous to this kingdom, but which, fortunately, is soon to take place.

IN TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

These must both encrease in an astonishing degree, and the only change in other respects relative to them, which an Union can make is, that instead of their being arranged as they are at present, the whole of them will then be fixed in that part of Ireland now called Great Britain. This will be an advantage of the last importance to us, because it will save us a world of trouble and labour.

IN MORALITY, &c.

Vice, luxury, and profaneness, being the natural growth of populous cities and great towns, this pious measure will necessarily wholly banish these from our land, as its obvious consequence must be utterly to demolish these, their lurking places, and happily destroy every thing like a city or large town in the kingdom.

IN EXPENCES, &c.

We shall have in future no encrease in our pension list, from that pleasant circumstance that alone can insure it—not being able to pay any; and who knows but we may even be altogether relieved from it as it now stands, for if it should happen, (as it is highly probable) that our 100 or 98 members should some day or another chance to get the whole 558 English ones absent from the House of Commons, it would be hard to say what they would not do. There are reasonable hopes to be entertained that we may obtain other great and exclusive advantages, from the likelihood that such a lucky event will frequently occur.

Every man in this kingdom who shall then be possessed of a guinea, (and I dare say there may be many such) will have his said property wonderfully encreased, because the worth of every thing of that kind, being made up, (among other considerations,) in a compound ratio of the scarcity and use of such thing, all coin here must then necessarily be doubled, (nay, probably improved in a much greater proportion) in its value, from what it is at present.

N. B. Trade and manufactures, and many other fooleries of the sort, have a direct contrary tendency on this point.

These for the present.

As I intend from time to time to state to you many other inestimable advantages, which must be attendant

upon this most desirable measure, I trust, thro' our joint endeavours, we shall be able to open the eyes of our absurd countrymen, so far as to shew them their true interests. You will, I am sure, excuse me for following the example of all my fellow-patriots to a man, who have written at the side of this question I have taken, by not putting my real name to my *assertions* of the manifest benefits we are about to receive. Not that I would have you suppose; that either they or I feel in the least ashamed, at the thought of avowing ourselves, but the truth is, that it is just as well, quietly to pocket this reward of our exertions, without encountering the odium and hatred, the people in their present swinish disposition, are inclined to heap on their best friends, as unnecessarily to risque the effect of our said *assertions* by an avowal that might give rise to misconstructions of our motives, as well as procure us useless ill-will and disgrace. You need not mind printing this last period. Believe me to be, &c. &c.

A PATRIOT.

F.

FORCEABLE ABDUCTION
AND
REWARD:

THE agreeable Widow IRELAND, having been forceably carried off by some villains, with intent to marry or defile her—These are to give notice, that by the Statutes in that case made and provided, the attempt is a capital felony, even though the horrid crime should not be completed.—We are much pained to add, that a young boy, a son of her own, has been concerned in this wicked enterprize. Any person who shall apprehend, and prosecute him to conviction, shall receive an ample reward. He may be easily known, being a slender stripling, not yet arrived at years of discretion. His breeches sit loosely on him, owing to a premature application to business. He is the same lad who at a late election in a Northern County, pledged himself to Parliamentary Reform, and declared himself devoted to the independence of his country; on which occasion, a large subscription was raised for him. His voice has in it strong tendencies to psalmody.

TO THE

EDITORS of the ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE read FITZPATRICK, in your Paper, with great pleasure, but being no Latin scholar, request to know the meaning of the passage in which it is said, that the Castle Gentleman, who wrote the great pamphlet for the UNION, was wasted here

QUO PRUNA ET COCTONA VENTO..

I know that *vento* is wind, but what is the rest?

Your respectful Reader,

GABRIEL HOME BRED.

IN compliance with the request of Mr. HOME BRED, and other friends who may require translations, we inform the public that the line in question means,

THE ILL-WIND THAT BLEW NOBODY GOOD.

EPIGRAM.

HOW kind 'tis in England to force us to take,
That favor, an UNION, and all for our sake?
Just so we treat turkeys; we cram them with food
To make them grow fat:—but 'tis all for their good.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1799.

No. XII.

TO THE
ELECTORS
OF THE
KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

THE day is fast approaching, which is to decide your political existence for ever—to decide, whether you are to retain the proud right of forming a national representative, subject to national controul, to continue the depositaries and guardians of the national liberties of Ireland; or, sunk to the burghers of a petty corporation, to enjoy the little privilege of sending your insignificant quota into the parliament of another country, there to swell the full stream of ministerial influence, or to be borne down by the overpowering torrent of opposing interests. The day, I say, which is thus to determine whether the electoral body of the kingdom of Ireland, shall be annihilated, is at hand—and yet you are silent!—There is a degree of insult, that, for the moment, overcomes indignation—and injury may rise to that height, that resentment may, for a time, be lost in amazement, or silenced in horror. That such an effect should have been produced on the minds of a gallant people, who, after having gloriously maintained their ground against the most formidable combination of foreign and domestic foes, are now told they are not fit to be trusted with the direction of their own affairs—told that the independence which they had so bravely vindicated, against the common enemy, they must now surrender to British aggrandizement—told this by the very nation, for which, no less than for their own, they had fought and bled—and told this at a time when the country is avowedly placed under military controul; troops received for the purpose of protection, manifestly continued for the purpose of intimidation—and others daily pouring in, with an evident view to clear away such doubts as may yet hang upon the question of an Union;—That such an effect, I say, should, under such circumstances, have been wrought upon your minds, is far from matter of surprize; still less does it furnish cause of wonder, when it is considered in what way this degrading measure has been introduced, and by what means it has been promoted;—announced in a publication confessedly official, with the accompaniment

of arguments tending to re-ignite the flames of party discord; and thereby clearly evincing the policy that has for years back been preparing the nation for such arguments—whilst our great men are clandestinely drawn over one by one, through the secret suggestions of the British minister;—thus with terror as the argument to the people, and something less ostensible, but not less forcible, addressed to the parliamentary leaders, aided by divisions studiously kept up to prevent the different classes of the community from conferring for the benefit of the whole, is a measure involving every thing that can be dear to a free people, proposed and forwarded; whilst you are desired freely and calmly to discuss its merits, and in the same breath commanded to receive the great advantages it is to bestow. When insult has thus combined with treachery, to rob you of your rights, and the nation of its independence, it is, I repeat it, far from matter of wonder, that a momentary silence, the mixed result of astonishment and horror, should have on your part, succeeded the disclosure of so flagitious a plan; but it is time that this stupor should pass away; and that the natural feelings of a just indignation should have vent. Remember, I beseech you! that in a case of such perilous moment, not an instant should be lost; the nation must decide now; or the question will be decided for it. It is true, the policy of the proposers, whilst it has announced the measure, has withheld the conditions; and you are told, that to discuss the question of Union, while you are ignorant of the terms, is to talk of your know-not what; that it is in the true logic of our country, to come to the conclusion, without once enquiring about the premises; the shallowness of this artifice, is an additional insult; the framers of it are well aware, that when the measure, with its detailed conditions, has come before parliament, your interference will be too late—the silence of the people will be argued into acquiescence—at least, the general principle of Union will be held as conceded, and the ignorance of specific conditions, will then be mocked as an idle plea, perhaps by the very persons who now urge it in bar of deliberation—and with reason, for admitting even that any conditions, morally speaking, could outweigh the mischiefs, how far are those that we may expect, likely to be favourable? Look to the critical juncture that has been seized for the proposal of the measure, and the answer presents itself;—in the moment of distraction we are called on to deliberate; in the phrenzy of mutual exasperation, we are invited to confer; under the protection of British troops we are summoned to negotiate a treaty with Britain; and does equity,

then, demand the aid of violent passions to enforce its claims? Is intimidation the usual harbinger of beneficence? That people surely must be more than Bœotian, that requires to be frightened or forced into a just sense of its obvious interests. France indeed has had the glory of compelling the blessings of liberty and fraternizing incorporation at the point of the bayonet. Can it be necessary to the happiness of these countries that she should be disturbed in that pre-eminence? The patriotic secretary says, yes. But still we are told, the terms *will* be favourable. Granted, for sake of argument, What then? Against terms the most favourable that Britain can offer, I do not scruple to protest. Let not your honesty and good sense, my brother electors, be made the dupes of Castle chicane; this, I affirm, cannot be considered a question of terms; to represent it as such, has been the little trick of those who, whilst they concealed the terms, hoped to cajole you into inaction, and to keep back that expression of your will, which they well knew would be ruinous to their cause. Look to the glaring features of the measure, and judge whether any terms can correct their hideous and disgusting deformity: The surrender of our Parliament—the consequent abdication of our national will—the increased burden of taxation and debt—the extinction of all responsibility—the certain emigration of our gentry—the foreign education and consequent estrangement of our youth—the influx of a new and overwhelming influence, absorbing all the rewards of professional ability and exertion—our metropolis dispeopled—our university deserted—our professions disgraced—and our people disheartened. These, I say, are the essential and inherent characters of this tremendous change; and shall we yet bear to be told, that this is a question of terms? are these effects that I have enumerated the necessary results of an Union? If they be, shall we enquire what may be the terms that shall modify NATIONAL RUIN? But still we are told, that the extension of our commerce, and the establishment of our tranquillity, will operate in counteraction, or at least, in compensation of these evils? That such evils are beyond the reach of compensation is too plain for proof, and in the prediction of their counter-action we will not surely seek an equivalent for the positive and immediate sacrifices we are called on to make. But in what way are commerce and tranquillity to flow from the projected measure? Do not the confessions of all who are conversant in Irish trade clearly evince that its state since the establishment of Irish independence has been eminently prosperous and progressive*? Do not the reasonings and

decisions of our best informed merchants evince with equal clearness that its prosperity can receive no accession from what Great Britain can bestow? Does not the father of Irish trade, † that distinguished commoner, to whose opinion the Irish merchant should peculiarly look up with grateful reverence, does he not by his disinterested and peremptory rejection of the proffered benefits of the Union, declare in the strongest terms his sense of its injury to Ireland? And are you then to be cajoled with the sound of commercial gain? As little will you be imposed on by the empty promise of national tranquillity? Should even the measure pass without exciting national convulsion; nay more, admit the possibility that a project, whereby all parties and descriptions are to be degraded, should produce a temporary calm, yet that it will be but the calm that precedes the tempest, and which will ultimately explode in violent division of the sister kingdoms—every intelligent and honest man amongst us must see and deplore! In the disgust of the loyalist, and the exultation of the traitor, already too visible, we may discern this calamitous issue. In the nature of the case, *if the nation shall be tricked out of its independence*, he must discern it as a necessary consequence; and in this light, peculiarly it is, that as subjects breathing the warmest sentiments of loyal affection to our gracious Sovereign, and ready, as you have lately proved, to lay down your lives in support of the present constitutional connexion with Great Britain, you are most powerfully called on to resist the present measure as destructive to the interest of Ireland and the empire. You see then that to hold out tranquillity and commerce in exchange for our independence and increasing prosperity, is but a mockery of the nation: It is to offer what is at best but uncertain and speculative and remote, in place of what is certain and practical and immediate—It is to offer what, if certain and immediate, would not prove an equivalent—It is to offer as necessarily connected with an Union, what is but incidental to it, in as much as no one expedient can safely be adopted for the accomplishment of either object in the event of an Union, that may not with equal safety be resorted to without it. But above all, it is to offer, that as the effect of an Union, the very reverse of which is to be dreaded as its natural result. And is it, after all this, pretended that you have not sufficient data whereon to ground your decisions? to such sophistry, I have no doubt, it is in a good measure to be attributed, that those decisions have been hitherto withheld; but its impositions are too manifest longer to mislead your judgment. You will not disgrace the characteristic sagacity of your county, by allowing men, whose understandings are in-

* In the Lord Chancellor's speech, on the motion made by Lord Moira in the Irish House of Lords, it is expressly asserted, that during the last twenty years "there is not a nation on the habitable globe, which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and in manufactures, with the same rapidity."—Vide speech published by authority, P. 4; again in P. 45, speaking of the value of linen exported from Ireland, even under the pressure of the war, he states it to have been "from 1792 to 1795 inclusive, 11,662,155," that is "2,200,000 over and above the amount of it in the four corresponding years prior to the war;" and the value of the export in 1796, he states to be vastly greater "than it ever had amounted to in any one year, since the linen manufacture was first established in Ireland;" and

again in p. 47, speaking of the trade of the kingdom, he states from official documents "that on a comparative view of the trade of Ireland, exports and imports, during eight years, ending at Lady day 1797, there is an accruing balance in her favour of more than 6,540,000l.; and the increase of her tonnage has been 17,872 tons in the same period;" "this is the country," his Lordship properly adds, "that is to be represented as sinking under the weight of misgovernment! This is the country which the Sovereign is to rescue from impending ruin, only by a radical parliamentary reform!"

† It can be scarcely necessary to mention that the Speaker is the eminent character here alluded to.

ferior to your own, to defraud you of your electoral right by the impudent pretence that the exercise of it is too early, until it shall be too late. No, my fellow electors, you are as little in danger from the weakness that would expose your dearest privileges to so barefaced a pilfer, as from the wickedness that would abdicate them by a deliberate and voluntary surrender. Let me then entreat you instantly to snatch the opportunity of entering through the medium of your representatives a national protest against this ruinous measure. Remember that if you do not seize the present occasion of communicating with your parliament, you thereby as far as in you lies determine that you never shall have another. Remember also, that this is above all questions that can be made the subjects of parliamentary deliberation, peculiarly a question of the people. The powers of parliament it is not necessary to discuss. To scrutinize them with theoretical severity in cases of ordinary moment is unbecoming; in the present case it would be superfluous. That they have some limit is certain. The point beyond which they cannot pass the plain principles of the constitution, and the ordinary suggestions of common sense manifestly define. The omnipotence of the parliament *acting within the great lines of the constitution*, every loyal subject must be resolute to maintain, but the magic of that word cannot change a trust into a property; cannot transform freemen into slaves; and a parliament, that in a matter affecting its own existence, and the established rights of a free people, should decide upon their surrender, without the clear and unbiassed expression of national consent, must be deeply responsible for the consequences of a violated constitution. On this ground it is peculiarly proper, as well as necessary, that the sentiments of the great constituent body of the nation should be explicitly announced. On other occasions parliament might deem, or affect to deem, your interference obtrusive. If partial, they might plead, that although appointed as local delegates, they become universal trustees; even when general they might contend, that though deriving their powers from you, they are constituted not the responsive organs of your will, but the discretionary guardians of your interests. Nay, I admit this to be just, when they take their stand upon the ground of the constitution, and would maintain its ancient bulwarks against the impetus of popular innovation; but in the present case in which our old constitution is to be relinquished, in which the very essence of the solemn trust reposed in the representative body is to be annihilated, you not only have a right to speak your determination, but in strictness, unless you do, no constitutional decision can be had. Beware, then; how your silence shall be interpreted; it surely, in a case like the present, with good reason, will be held a language expressive and peremptory. Already have some bodies exercised their constitutional rights, and others are proceeding to do so. In the instructions of the city and county of Dublin, and those of the University to their representatives, in the declarations of that learned and public spirited body, the Irish Bar, as well as of the liberal and enlightened merchants and bankers of the metropolis, the feelings of national dignity and substantial patriotism have been powerfully expressed. Shall we say, that these bodies are more in-

terested in the question than the nation at large? This has been insinuated by those whose interest it is to war with truth on the present momentous subject. The motives of this insinuation it is difficult to misunderstand, but the folly of it is not less conspicuous than its malice. To suppose that the great professions of the country should decay—that its University should droop—that the merchants of the metropolis should decline—and that the metropolis itself, and its vicinity, should waste away—and that the kingdom at large should experience no sensible injury from all this, is to suppose what is directly absurd. To insinuate that other trading towns shall rise upon the downfall of the capital, and thence to urge to *them* the advantage of the measure, is an insult, at the same time, to their understanding and their morals. Common sense rejects the notion—that to impoverish one part of a country will enrich the rest; and common honesty rejects the lure, that would set up the feeling of a sordid selfishness against the public weal. Admitting then, even that a regard to their local interests could have solely influenced the decisions of the great bodies of the metropolis and its vicinity, would it be wise, or honourable, on that ground to reject their example, connected as their interests must be with those of the nation? But these bodies have not been led by local considerations on this momentous question; they know full well, that in a general result of increased prosperity, (if such were to be the consequence of an Union) they must eventually participate in full proportion. The riches and comforts of a state cannot long remain accumulated in one part of a country; but like the waters which fertilize the soil, will fall through the lower grounds, until they have found their level, by general diffusion. No: the views of those informed bodies are not to be circumscribed by the narrow limits which the habitual meanness of cattle sycophancy so well used to adjust to its own groveling pursuits, presumes to prescribe to them in the present instance;—they have come forward on this, as they have done on former occasions, with promptness, from the nature of the case. At the source and fountain head of public intelligence; exercised in habits of reflection; from numerous concurrence, and frequent collision, continually employed in the discussion of public concerns; acting in a scene of constant activity and exertion; the proceedings of government daily and hourly passing before their eyes, and submitted, as it were, to their immediate inspection and animadversion, it is not wonderful that the residents of the capital, and its vicinity, should have been the first to debate and decide on this important question. Let me ask, is this the single case in which the metropolis has taken the lead? Look to the establishment of the never to be forgotten volunteer army of Ireland; look to other public and great occasions. Was it the corrupt and local views of the gentlemen of the bar, and of the merchants and inhabitants of Dublin, and its neighbourhood, that led them at the moment of national danger, to fling up all their domestic enjoyments, and encountering all the hardship of military service, to set the example of a yeoman institution, to which alone we are at this moment indebted for our existence as a people. Look to every nation, and see whether the metropolis is not the first to take the alarm on every public shock. See whether

it has not usually set the example of public spirit, and whether its vigilance has not usually proved the safeguard of national freedom. But to the example of these bodies that have openly deliberated on the question of Union, the singular and novel situation of this country at the present day, attaches a peculiar value. A visible proof has been hereby exhibited, that there no longer exists an obstacle to the constitutional meetings of the people. I am well aware, that in those districts of the kingdom in which military law has been enforced, (and strange to say, in some parts, trials by court-martial do at this moment prevail) it has been generally believed, that all assemblies of the people, convened even in their electoral capacity, and for constitutional objects, are subjected to the control of military power; and to this strange notion, joined to an equally strange misconception of the convention act, I have little doubt that the silence of many counties is, in some degree to be imputed. Yes, my brother electors, from the erroneous opinion on this head, which some have taken no small pains to encourage, do the partizans of the minister expect their principal advantage, from your panic, and your misapprehensions alone do they hope success; but the array of military force cannot face down the constitution. While that lasts no power can wrest from you the privilege of meeting to restrict those whom you have appointed your parliamentary guardians. Military jurisdiction interferes not with your electoral rights, it neither can, nor dare; and the convention bill, as appears both from the express declaration of Lord Clare, and from the words of the bill itself, whilst it guards against unlawful assemblies of *delegated* bodies undermining and usurping the powers of parliament, most carefully and explicitly provides, that the ancient and undoubted right of petition and remonstrance, should remain unimpaired—but if any be yet so cautious, or rather so timid, as to seek still farther satisfaction, on this head, it is now furnished by the actual exercise of that right, without disturbance or objection, under the very eye of the supreme civil and military power. One difficulty, I am aware, yet remains to impede your collective deliberations—the sheriff of a county may be base enough to refuse compliance with the wishes of the Electors; that this treacherous abuse of the authority of this officer, has already been employed in some cases, to defeat the honest intentions of the freeholder, there is reason to believe—but need I remind you, that his authority has no legal controul over the exercise of your undoubted right to assemble in your counties, for the purpose of instructing your representatives. This right depends not for its exertion, on the permission of any officer whom the crown appoints. One word more, and I have done—when you assemble to deliberate, let me remind you that the magnitude of the question demands from you the most serious and temperate demeanour—the dignity and firmness of your proceedings, will, I trust, be such as to silence the most unblushing calumniators of liberty—let the glorious cause of national independence, which summons you to discussion, animate you with sentiments truly worthy of it—tumult and trepidation would ill besit a nation demanding its rights—passion, like ma-

levence, is the child of weakness—in a great people, knowing their power to be commensurate to their rights, it can have no place—Speak, then, with calmness, but with decision, and corruption will shrink from the sound—Speak, and you must be heard!

A FELLOW-ELECTOR.

To the INHABITANTS of this CITY.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

AS it is now certainly known that the measure of incorporating this kingdom with Great Britain, will this day be either directly or incidentally submitted to parliament, we hold ourselves bound, as friends to good order, and enemies to this measure, to impress on the public, the impropriety of violence or commotion. Let not the phrenzy of resentment, or the giddiness of sudden feeling, prompt to any act, which may tend to overawe the deliberations of parliament, or give a reason for introducing a military force, to protect the representative body from the people. If there exists a conspiracy against the independence of the legislature of this kingdom, let the conspirators find no precedent, in the mistaken zeal of Irishmen. Be not deceived into the opinion that one vote can be influenced against the measure, by popular disturbance. No! But the fury of a mob may furnish an argument to those who can in no other way, than by the pretence of resisting it affect independence. Firm and conscientious men may be forced by popular threats to incline against the popular cause, and to those who are false and designing, the merit of opposing tumult, may afford a plausible excuse for their conduct. Never yet did a riotous assembly serve the cause for which it was collected; but it frequently gave a pretext to the governing power, to strengthen its hands, and enforce its measures—Let the example of Scotland be a warning to us—The people of Edinburgh rose in all their power against the parliament. History relates the event—“The privy council issued a proclamation against riots—commanding all persons to retire from the streets, whenever the drum should beat, ordering the guards to fire upon those who should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming and slaying the subject.”*

Let us remind you, that great and dreadful as the calamity is, with which you are threatened, it is yet but a prospect—It may, and we trust will, be prevented by that powerful band of patriotic legislators, who, we know, are ready to resist this daring and insolent attack on the constitution of our country. That the exertions of those men—that the general indignation which it is now apparent the whole country entertains, and which has been in so many instances, already declared against the measure, in a constitutional way—will ultimately defeat the attempt, and overwhelm its authors in everlasting infamy—we have no doubt, provided the public opinion continues to declare itself in the same bold, yet constitutional, the same manly and firm, tho' pacific and orderly manner, in which it has hitherto spoken.

* Smollet—vol. 2.—p. 92.

THE ANTI-UNION.

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TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

Nulli fas—sub jungere gentem.

VIRG. ÆNEID.

GENTLEMEN,

IMPELLED by the energy of that sentiment which every man *must* feel when he believes that his best interests, always inseparably connected with the freedom and independence of his country, are about to be disposed of for ever, I cannot help soliciting permission through your publication to submit to my countrymen, some thoughts on the great subject which now occupies, I may say, agonizes, the mind of the Irish public. The subject of a legislative Union with Great Britain, has been treated in many different points of view, by the ingenious correspondents of your paper, as well as by that host of writers, who, on this agitating measure, have given their thoughts to the public. Wit has ridiculed and declamation inveighed against it; eloquence has exhausted all its stores in developing the calamities by which it must be followed; and the pride, the passions, the indignation of the country, have risen to repel the indignity of the measure. Every topic which could furnish an argument against it has been resorted to and many of them have been exhausted, while that, which in my mind, affords the best ground on which reason can take her stand against it, has been adverted to but with a casual glance. I mean its incompatibility with the constitution of the country, and the incompetence of any legislation without the express consent of the nation to effect it.—“*Who shall dispose of the kingdom of Ireland?*” “*Who has a RIGHT to abolish its independence—to annul its constitution—and to submit the property, liberty, and lives of its people to the absolute dominion of another country?*” These are the questions which I conceive have not yet been fully discussed, though their importance one might think would have obtained for them the first place in the public mind. They are not the questions of party; they relate not to little measures of finance, of regulation, or of commerce; they are questions which *now* concern the very existence of Ireland; and relate to a measure, which, like the immensity of space, or the infinity of duration, comprehends within its capacious womb, every object that can interest a people, or affect the interest and happiness of individuals. They are questions which must be considered *NOW* or *NEVER*; for if the present moment be suffered to pass away, the lapse of

future ages may not present another opportunity to consider them: *TO DAY* it is PUBLIC VIRTUE to discuss them—*TO-MORROW* the discussion may be *TREASON*; and the infamy and penalties of *REBELLION*, will await that tardy virtue which if exerted in time, would have ensured the gratitude and admiration of posterity.

At such a moment as this every man should throw his mite of intellect into the public stock. I shall therefore discharge *my* duty by submitting to my countrymen the two following propositions, which if I am not deceived, admit of demonstration as complete, as any moral proposition is capable of receiving. I say then, first, That the measure of a legislative Union, in such terms as we are taught to expect, would be a surrender of the constitution; and consequently, of the liberty and independence of this country;—and secondly, That the parliament of Ireland will be guilty of an act of usurpation, if they assume a power to enact such an Union without the express consent of the people of Ireland.

The dangerous and dark principles which the abstract rights of man afford me, might make the proof of these propositions a matter of great facility; but I reject them; I shall resort to no principles which have not been recognized by the British constitution, and inculcated by those illustrious men who have developed and explained it; I discard the levelling and revolutionary principles of the French system, and disclaim as unconstitutional and unsafe, *every* principle which would invest the mob with supreme power.

An *UNION* then, I say, would be a surrender of the constitution. To examine this proposition, it is necessary we should consider, first, what is meant by “*Constitution*,” and particularly the constitution of this country;—and in the second place, what is meant by a “*Legislative Union*.”—*Constitution*, then, when used in a political sense, I understand, to mean “*that system of primitive or fundamental principles according to which the frame of the respective government was first formed, and by which it must continue to be regulated*.”—By the “*British constitution*, which is also that of Ireland; I mean that system of primitive or fundamental principles on which *OUR* government is formed, and according to which, so long as our constitution lasts, it must be conducted.” Thus it is not this or that particular law, nor any certain number of laws, nor all the laws on the statute books which form the constitution; for if it was any, or a certain number, or all of these which form it, then the repeal of that particular statute, or the repeal of any of that certain number of statutes, or the repeal or enactment of any statute, would be an alteration, if not an abolition of the constitution itself. But it is evident.

that no such repeal, &c. is considered as a change of the constitution; it must, therefore, be the original principles on which the common law rests; those principles which govern the legislature in the enactment of every statute; those principles, in a word, on which the legislature itself is framed; it must be those that form the constitution. Thus, if by mistake or undue influence, the legislature could be persuaded to enact a law inconsistent with any of these first principles, that law would be unconstitutional; such, for instance, would be a law empowering his Majesty or his minister to take the property of the subject, or to confine his person, or to dispose of his life, at his will and pleasure. Thus, also, if the legislature, of its own authority, should abolish the monarchy, the government which they should establish in its place, would be unconstitutional: Such for instance, was the protectorate of Cromwell.

What then, are those premature and fundamental principles? The civil and political liberty of the subject, I conceive to be the first and chief. It includes the right of the subject to be bound by no laws but those to which he assents, either expressly by the representative whom he elects, or virtually by the representative who is chosen by that description of his countrymen which the law considers most likely to make a wise choice for the general good. This too, includes the political independence of the state; for if the state were dependent on another power, then this right of the subject to be bound by no laws but those to which he assented either expressly or virtually, as above, could not exist. He would be bound by laws made neither by him, nor his representative, nor the representative of any description of his countrymen, but by that paramount state. A country thus subordinate or dependent on another cannot be said to have any constitution: America had none before the assertion of her independence—Ireland had none while she was bound by British statutes.

Subordinate to this first great principle of the constitution, and calculated to give it permanency and effect, is another, namely, that the supreme power of the state shall reside in a legislative body consisting of three members—the chief executive magistrate, a house of peers created by him, and a house of representatives chosen by the people, or a certain description of them.

That these are radical principles of the constitution, I might cite innumerable authorities to shew, but as I believe they will not be controverted, it would be an idle parade to prove them by reference. Supposing, therefore, until the contrary be proved, which I am convinced, cannot be done, that the constitution is such as I have described it, and that it depends on the two great principles, the civil and political liberty of the people, including the right of self-government, and national independence; and also, on the disposition of the supreme power among the three branches of the legislature, namely, a King, and two Houses of Parliament; the one consisting of Irish Peers, the other consisting of members returned by certain qualified classes

of the Irish people; let us now see what is meant by a legislative Union with Great Britain.

An Union then means, that two of those three branches of the constitutional legislature shall be abolished for ever; that there shall never be, hereafter, an Irish House of Peers, or an Irish House of Commons; and that the people of Ireland shall, henceforward, be governed by the King, and Parliament of Great Britain, encreased by the addition of a few Peers and Commoners sent from Ireland. Of these Irish representatives, the number must be such as to bear a very small proportion to the Peers or Commons of Great Britain; of course they must, in all cases, be unable to procure the enactment of any measure which they may think beneficial to Ireland, or to prevent the enactment of any measure which they may know to be injurious to its interest, or destructive of its rights.

I say, therefore, that an Union surrenders this great and vital principle of the constitution; that the people of Ireland shall be governed by a King, and two houses of Parliament; the one consisting of Irish Peers, the other of Irish Commoners. I say, also, that by giving up this constitutional mode of government, it subjugates Ireland to the absolute and uncontrollable dominion of the British Parliament. But when one country is subject to the absolute and uncontrollable power of another country, it ceases to be free or independent; its citizens no longer enjoy civil or political liberty; the people of Ireland, therefore, in case they submit to an Union, will immediately cease to be governed by laws to which they have either actually, or virtually consented by their representatives; they will cease to enjoy civil or political liberty; and therefore, an Union, I say, is a complete surrender of the constitution of Ireland, inasmuch as it surrenders the two great principles of which that constitution consists.

I conceive I have thus fully established, the first of the propositions which I undertook to prove, namely, that an Union would be a complete surrender of the constitution, and consequently, of the liberty and independence of the country. But two objections are made to this proof. First, that though Ireland, in case of an Union, would lose the form of her constitution, yet she would retain the substantial benefits of it; for she would be represented in the British Parliament, and would enjoy all the freedom, civil and political, that would be enjoyed by Great Britain, herself. I answer, it is a fallacy. First, Ireland's being represented in the British Parliament, would be perfectly immaterial—she would derive no benefit, whatsoever, from that representation; because, though her representatives were perfectly virtuous, and entirely unanimous on every question, yet the paucity of their members, would render any question or vote of theirs for Ireland, nugatory; and as to this country enjoying the same freedom and privileges as England, I say it is neither *certain*, nor *likely*, nor, I will add, *possible*, that she should do so. It is not certain, because the united legislature might

If they should think it for the benefit of the empire at large, deprive this particular part of it of many privileges which they rest of the empire should continue to enjoy. They might establish universally the mode of trial now established in the disturbed counties; that is, repeal the trial by jury. They might repeal, as to this country, the Habeas Corpus Act; or, under different pretences, perpetuate the suspension of it from year to year. It is not likely that Ireland would enjoy the same freedom, because being completely under the dominion of Great Britain, it is highly probable, the latter would act then towards her in the same way, and on the same principles, as she has heretofore done; but heretofore, it has undeniably been the policy of Great Britain to restrain the liberty, to cramp the commerce, and to narrow the constitutional privileges of this country. If it be said, she formerly did so from fear of a separation, should Ireland become too powerful, but that she would do so no longer, because the incorporation of the two countries would render a separation impracticable; I answer—the argument is founded on a false assumption; for the legislative incorporation would not make a separation impracticable; because, 1st. the great body of the Irish people would, notwithstanding an Union, preserve their distinct religion, their present habits of life, and thinking, their present love for freedom, their longing for political power and independence. 2d, their insular situation, and local separation from Great Britain, would then, because it must ever, continue to suggest a desire and ambition of separate and independent government. 3d, the enemies of Great Britain would then, as they will ever, continue, as at present, to urge Ireland to separation. And 4th, if the wealth of the country encreased, it would furnish new means to effect a separation; if the country became poorer, its poverty would be a goad to revolt. With regard to the substantial benefits of the British constitution, it is, therefore, neither certain, nor likely, that Ireland would enjoy them equally with Great Britain, after an Union—and with respect to political freedom, it is not possible, in case of an Union, that Ireland should enjoy it; for having given up her separate existence, and submitted to the will of another country, her political freedom would be an impossibility. As well might it be said, that the different portions of Poland, which have been meted out to the several continental powers, possess the same degree of freedom as the respective countries with which they have become incorporated.

By an Union, then, countrymen, the constitution of Ireland is gone for ever. The constitution gone! What then, countrymen, have we been fighting for? For what have we met our deluded fellow-countrymen in arms? Why have we fattened the fields of Wexford, and of Wicklow, and of Kildare, with the blood of Irishmen? Was it that when we had secured to Ireland that constitution under which we had prospered and been happy, we should carry it on the point of our swords to the foot of the British minister, and there re-

sign it for ever? Why did we extort a constitution from the weak and reluctant hand of dominating Britain in 82? Was it that after having played with it for a year or two, we should give it up without a struggle, and return to a state still more ignominious than that from which we emerged? Shall we be the only nation in the history of the earth, who, possessing freedom and independence, enlarged commerce, improving agriculture, and a multiplied population, shall resign freely, and without necessity, all these invaluable blessings into the hands of another, and I will add, a rival nation; and say to them—“here we are, take us and ours—we pretend no longer to govern ourselves—you are wiser, and more virtuous than we—give us only food to eat, and raiment to put on, and we will serve you!” No! It cannot, it will not be—it is not in human nature. The nation of heroes, who, in 82, raised itself by a prodigy of valour and wisdom into the notice and admiration of the world, will not in 99, again precipitate itself into voluntary dishonour, and blacken the page of history with the first example of a voluntary and untempted surrender of the imperial privileges of freedom and independence—a surrender of them by one nation to another, from whose weakness they had been wrested, and who was unable to revoke them.

(To be continued.)

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

A COUNTRY Correspondent of mine, has sent me a copy of the following very curious DREAM, which, if you think proper, you are at liberty to publish in your periodical paper.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,

CAMILLUS.

I DREAMT I was in Norway, and that I saw there a groupe of men in worn and tattered apparel, but who from their deportment, seemed as if they had seen better days. I questioned one of them, and was informed they were emigrant French nobility; the person I spoke to was the Duke of Richlieu; he said, that he and his companions bore their misfortunes with fortitude, from a consciousness that they had acted according to the dictates of honor, and in support of the ancient constitution of their country.

While we were conversing together, we beheld a ves-

crowded with passengers, which approached the shore; we ran to see what unfortunate persons they might be, who thus sought an asylum in this dreary country;—when they disembarked, I fancied I could discern some traces of features I had somewhere seen before, but quite altered by misfortune and want; Richlieu, with that politeness ever peculiar to Frenchmen, welcomed the passengers on shore; and with easy, tho' no way offensive importunity, sought to know who they were, and whence they came; one of them, on behalf of the rest, stepped forward and said, Sir, we are part of the nobility of Barataria, we all possessed great estates in that delightful country, and our ancestors handed down to us therein, a constitution free and independent. Our country was bound in alliance offensive and defensive, with a contiguous powerful nation, to whose aggrandizement she cheerfully contributed both her blood and treasure; the friendly intercourse between the two countries had continued for ages past, and was likely to continue for ages to come and would have done so, had not the Grand Visir of the nation with whom we were in alliance, fatally disturbed the repose and connection of the two countries; he was a man of insatiable ambition, and possessing the unbounded confidence of the Sultan his master, he formed projects the most extraordinary and chimerical, which neither disappointment, discomfiture, or apparent impracticability, could induce him to relinquish; the consequences were such as might be naturally expected—a great derangement in the finances of the Sultan; the Visir devised various schemes to recruit them; but these all proving inadequate, he at last, at a time when he was at actual war with all the neighbouring nations, determined to use the troops and money of the Sultan, to compel Barataria, his only friend and ally, to surrender her wealth, constitution, and independence, to his absolute direction and disposal. We then were most of us at the court of the Sultan, as many of us then had estates in both countries; the Visir sent for us, and explained to us the nature of his plan, and desired our co-operation to accomplish it; we hesitated—but he had the means of quieting all our scruples; his promises were liberal, and we bowed obedience to his will; on our return to Barataria, we found that some disturbances had taken place there, which had been fomented by the emissaries of the Visir, but tranquillity had been restored; this was thought to be the favorable moment to deprive our country of its constitution and independence. To forward the views of the Visir we repaired to our estates and represented to our tenants and vassals, and those persons living in their vicinage, the great advantages and benefits, that would arise from an implicit obedience to the Visir's will; and we strongly recommended the surrender he required; but we were mortified to find that they scouted us with scorn; and every where unanimously resolved to support the independence of Barataria; we were, however, not dismayed; we thought if we could make a majority of

the Grand Council, that the troops of the Visir would afterwards settle the business;—We carried the question.—And the sons of Barataria seemed to submit to the degradation of their country; but this was only a state of torpor; it resembled a calm that precedes a storm; and when we thought the nation buried in apathy—a tempest of indignation burst forth, that convulsed the nation from north to south, from east to west; the people recovered their freedom; expelled us the country, and confiscated our estates; we fled to the Sultan's court, hoping to receive from the Grand Visir, compensation for our losses in Barataria, and the performance of his other promises: But alas! Sir, how uncertain is human policy! and how fleeting is the power of courtiers!—Ere we arrived, news had reached the court, of the disastrous turn affairs had taken in Barataria, and the loss of her alliance; which so exasperated the populace, and occasioned such a ferment round the Sultan's palace, that to appease the tumult, he was obliged to send them the Grand Visir's head: but this was not all; in the paroxysm of their rage, they required that all those should be attainted as traitors, who were any way instrumental in assisting the Visir in these projects which occasioned the loss of the alliance of Barataria; in consequence we were driven from the dominions of the Sultan, and our property there confiscated. We embarked on board the first ship, and met with a dreadful storm; the ship became unmanageable, and we were driven on this coast; Alas! Sir, we are now unfortunate emigrants like yourselves, and as brothers in adversity we claim your friendship. At these words Richlieu stepped back, and with a look of anger, mixed with scorn, said: You our brothers!—You emigrants like us!—We disclaim you!—In nought you resemble us!—Your country had an ancient, free constitution, you conspired with the Visir of another nation to destroy it! Your endeavours were to overturn, not to support, the ancient order of things: By your own statement, your conduct seems to have been corrupt and profligate in the extreme, and you were most deservedly expelled from Barataria; go hide your disgrace in the inmost recesses of the neighbouring forest! But do not dare, by your presence, to pollute the abode of honor, and the French emigrants.

At these words, I started and awoke.

W. Z.

EPIGRAM.

WHY should we exclaim that the times are so bad?
Pursuing a querulous strain,
When Erin gives up ALL the Rights that she had,
What right will she have to complain?

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1799.

No. XIV.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

Continued from our last.

HAVING, I hope, successfully attempted to prove that a legislative Union with Great Britain would be a surrender of the constitution of Ireland, I now proceed to my second proposition, which is, "That the parliament of Ireland will be guilty of usurpation, if they assume a power to enact such an Union, without the express consent of the people."

To prove the incompetency of the legislature to do an act which overturns and abolishes the constitution, under which they are appointed, and which it is their duty to administer, it is necessary only to prove that no legislature can have an absolute and unlimited power; for if there be any limit to their authority, they must of necessity be restrained by that limitation from doing any act which goes to the eversion of the constitution which gives them birth; because it would be absurd and a contradiction to suppose that a constitution designed for the permanent government of a people, should give a power to a body appointed only to govern under and by that constitution, to destroy the constitution itself—one might as easily suppose a part to be greater than the whole, as that a legislature appointed to govern, according to a fixed constitution, should have a power of abrogating the very power which gives them existence. If there be any limitation, then I say, to the power of the legislature, that limitation restrains them from repealing or abrogating the parent constitution. But I say, it is abundantly clear as well as from the nature of what is called the supreme power in every state, as from the peculiar nature of the legislature under our constitution, that this limitation of the power of parliament does exist.

It is clear, first, from the nature of the supreme power in government; for supreme power, when applied to a governing or legislative body, must mean in the first instance, a RECOGNIZED authority or RIGHT vested in them by the governed, or those who framed the government. If *supreme power* be understood in any sense distinct from a recognized authority, or vested right, it must be meant for *force* or *might*, and becomes rather expressive of a physical than of a moral idea. If by the "SUPREME POWER," which is said to reside somewhere in all governments, be meant a power that extends to acts of all kinds whatever, uncontrollable by any fixed principle, moral right or duty, then there ceases to be any solid distinction between legitimate government and the most unjust despotism or tyranny; because there is nothing to restrain the one or the other from acting oppressively, unjustly, or tyrannically. If there be no paramount principle, right, or duty, to restrain the authority or bind the power of a legislative assembly, the only difference between them and a Nero, or a Caligula, is a

numerical difference; the difference between *one* for instance and *five hundred*, and if it be true that the government of a multitude of tyrants is more degrading and dangerous than that of a single one, the people of these free countries are in a much worse situation than the inhabitants of Constantinople where the sovereign power resides in *one* man. It is plain, therefore, that there is a limit to the supreme power with which every government is said to be vested, and this limitation of the governing power is recognized by the writers on the law of nature as well as those who have treated of government in a state of society. Thus CUMBERLAND in treating of this law of nature deduced as a corollary this limitation of the supreme power of the state "*Notandum porro est, quod ab eodem fine propter quem constituitur imperium, seu potestas civilis, naturaliter et necessario limitatur. Omne quippe medium fine suo adaptandum est, ut nec ab eo deficiat nec eum excedat. Adeoque manifestum est quod in ordine ad honorem Dei Gentiumque omnium felicitatem, non potest fundari imperium quod jus habeat HÆC EVERTENDI.*" [Cumberland *de legibus naturæ, Consecrarium* 7th] that is, "It is worthy of observation that every government or civil power is naturally and necessarily limited by the end for which it is instituted; for every mean should be adapted to the end aimed at, so that it should neither exceed nor fall short of it; and therefore, it is manifest that in order to promote the glory and honour of Almighty God and the happiness of all nations, no kind of government can be established which can have any right or power to overturn or defeat these great ends."

The limitation of the Sovereign power is here fully and explicitly recognized by a writer of high authority: The extent of that limitation he describes in a subsequent passage—"Nihil, says he, *illis* (those possessing the supreme power of the state) *vetitum est, nisi ne necessariam Dominiorum divisionem violent, qua Deos sua, hominibusque aliis assignantur; neve ceteras lezes naturales evertant ad quas conservandas ipsa fundantur & quarum viribus tota debetur regnantium securitas ac felicitas,*" (Cumberland *ibidem*;) that is, "They are under no restriction, but that they shall not violate the necessary distinction of property by which what belongs to the Deity and to men is respectively assigned to each, and that they should not contravene those laws of nature, to preserve which they are instituted, and on which the security and happiness even of those who govern depend." Those, then, who possess the supreme power in a state have not a right to violate property, because they were instituted for the protection of it, and they cannot have a power inconsistent with the end of their institution. But what property more valuable to man than his right to liberty? what property more valuable to a community than its independence? If there be none, then I say it is proved that the supreme power in any state cannot have a right or an authority to enact any law or to perform any act which goes to the violation of the political liberty and independence of the state which they govern. Now

if no legislature can have a power to do this, then the Irish legislature cannot do it: but I have proved they will do this if they presume to agree to an Union without the express consent of the people.

But there is another limitation to the supreme power as appears by this author, and that is, "They cannot abrogate or contravene any of the laws of nature which government is instituted to enforce and protect." Now, I ask, must not every government be founded to preserve to the community they govern the rights of liberty and property, so far as these can be enjoyed consistent with the peace and good order of the society? And I will ask farther, whether the submission of the liberty and property of one country to another by the government of the former, does not tend to endanger that liberty and property? But such a submission, I say, is implied in an Union;—and therefore, I contend, that no power on earth but the nation, or some person or persons expressly appointed by them for that purpose, can have power to assent to such a measure.

But without recurring to authority on so plain a subject, you will perceive, on a moment's consideration, that no government can possess a power absolute and uncontrollable in every sense, unless that government be an usurped one; and of an usurped government, the power is limited by its physical force:—for you will see, that if it be an appointed, elected, or constituted government, its powers must be limited by the appointing, electing, or constituting party; for no man, or body of men, could freely give to another man, or body of men, a power, that is, a right, to do whatever evil or mischief he or they might think proper, even to the extent of depriving the electors, &c. of their lives and property, or transferring them to slavery. The power granted to governments must therefore, in the nature of things, be bounded by the interests and well being of those they govern; for these purposes, for all good purposes, they may be truly said to have an absolute and uncontrollable power, but it is for those purposes only; and the moment that any legislature or government attempt to disturb private property, to violate the lives, or destroy the civil liberty of the community they were appointed to govern, that moment they act without authority, and are, *quoad hoc*, usurpers and tyrants.

Where the government or legislature is of new creation, we perceive there is always expressly declared a limitation to the supreme power. Certain cases are reserved, in which recurrence must again be had to the people, or that portion of them which originally appointed the governing power; whether that limitation refers to the exercise of their authority, or to the duration of it.

Where the government or legislature exists under an old constitution, and the origin of it cannot be traced back, there the legislative power is limited by established precedents, and they are never allowed to possess any authority or power which their predecessors did not exercise. If men learned in the constitution, or its practice, declare their opinions with respect to the limits of the legislative power, those opinions will be entitled to regard, and will be arguments for or against the original existence of the power or privilege in question. But those opinions will be entitled to regard only so far as they are supported by proof—and they who re-

sort to those authorities to prove that an absolute or uncontrollable power exists in the governing body, prove by the mere act of reference, that that absolute and uncontrollable authority depends upon opinion or precedent—that is, is limited by opinion and precedent; for it can be absolute only so far as those authorities or precedents prove it to be so. But opinion, in a matter of this kind, deserves no attention if be not founded upon facts, or incontrovertible deductions of reason—if it rest on facts it can only shew the power of the legislature co-extensive with the former exercise of it—if on reasoning and inference, it can never prove that this power and authority should be perfectly absolute and uncontrollable, because it is proveable, that such a power would be mischievous.

If any legislative body possess this absolute power, the country which they govern can possess no constitution. The will of the despots (for such they must be if invested with such power) is there the only constitution. They may have laws, indeed, but what is generally understood by constitution, they cannot have—because there are no fixed rules to which the laws enacted by them must be referred. There are no immortal principles which must live for ever, and pervade and regulate the enactments of every successive legislature: for instance—if the legislature of Ireland be absolute, and may by an Union, or any other means, change the whole frame of the government, what constitution have we? A certain mode of electing the popular branch of the House of Commons—a certain form by which Peers must be created—and certain rules by which Parliaments must be holden, and their duration limited. All these we have to-day—but if the Parliament be absolute we may not have them to-morrow. These, then, or any other assignable privileges or rights which we possess, cannot be called the fixed constitution of this country; because if the Parliament have an absolute power, they may repeal or abrogate all of those forms, rights and privileges, whenever they think proper. Our constitution, as we call it, is as short-lived as our mutiny bill; and that blessing which we boast, which we have fought for, and which we vainly prate about transmitting to our posterity, a certain set of gentlemen in College-green, with the assent of a great personage in London, may in a few days, legally and rightfully, extinguish for ever! What we have called the vile slander of Tom Paine, who told the people of England they had no constitution, is literally true; and we have yet to seek for one, either in his dreams, or wherever else we may find it.

I think I have shewn that no government can possess an absolute and uncontrollable power; but whatever may be the case with respect to other governments, it is most manifest, from the practice and the theory of the British Constitution, that the legislature of Great Britain, (the same holds of Ireland) do not possess that absolute, or uncontrollable authority. First, for the theory:—By that, this popular branch of the legislature has always been elected for a definite time, at the expiration of which, or earlier at the will of the sovereign, they were to return to the rank of private citizens. Here is an express limitation of the power of the legislature, in point of duration; and by this limitation, the British Constitution recognizes the necessity of limiting, in

some instances, the authority of the legislative body. Now, I ask, is this limitation a vital and essential part of the constitution, which the legislature itself cannot break through, or violate? If it be said it is—I say, then, here is an instance where the supreme power of the legislature, is *impotent*—and therefore the idea of their being absolute and uncontrollable, is true, only *sub modo*. If it be answered, that Parliament might, by an act of the whole legislature, declare the present House of Commons, perpetual; and even empower the present members to appoint their successors; then, in the first instance, I say as above, there exists no constitution—the people have no rights. But I answer further to this assertion, that the legislature do not possess this power; first, because it is one, for the exercise of which there is no precedent; and secondly, because they cannot claim it on the ground of abstract right, for it is not necessary to the purposes of their appointment, viz. the good government of the country;—but on the contrary, involves in its exercise the complete destruction of the rights and civil liberty of the nation.

It may, perhaps, be said, “that facts are against me—for that the British Legislature, in the septennial bill, have lengthened the term of existence of the then House of Commons, beyond the period for which they were elected by the people; and that the power which did this, might have also prolonged their duration for life, as well as for a year or two; that there would be no more usurpation in the one case, than in the other.” I answer, that the most learned and virtuous men in England, declared that act of the British Legislature, an *unconstitutional usurpation*, and therefore the high authority of those names, makes for my argument. But I say, also, that the two cases, a prolongation of the existence of parliament for a very short period, for reasons of convenience and public utility, and a complete perpetuation of the popular representation, elected but for a limited time, are infinitely different. The one is only a regulation of the people’s right, and left in their hands the power of procuring the repeal of that regulation after the next election. The other would be a complete annihilation of the right, without any legal means left to the people, to procure its restitution. I infer, therefore, on the whole, that by the theory of the British Constitution, the legislative body has not the power of abrogating that fundamental law of the constitution, namely, “the popular branch of the legislature, shall have but a temporary duration, and the right of electing that branch, shall remain for ever with certain descriptions of the people.”

With respect to the *practice* of the constitution, I say it is equally clear that the British Legislature, and every branch of it is considered, as having, in some instances, a limited power. Each branch of the legislature, restrains the authority of every other. The Commons refuse to the Lords the right of originating money-bills. The Peers claim exclusively the right of judicial power. The Prince holds exclusively, the sword of state; and both houses join in keeping the prerogative within the *constitutional* limits. Why these checks? Because they who framed the Constitution of England, were of opinion that the legislative power should be restrained within certain bounds, and they believed this would be best effected by giving to each of the three branches a check

upon the other two; for by these means the *whole* would be restrained from assuming or exercising an *unconstitutional* or dangerous power over the subject. The framers of this constitution have recognized the principle of limitation and check on the *supreme power* by creating in its very essence a check to inordinate ambition. Nor can any argument be drawn from this cautious and wise constitution of the legislative body in favour of vesting it with civil omnipotence—for to argue that it is framed so wisely that no danger can arise from investing it with absolute power is but to say “give it authority to act absolutely and without control, because from its nature it is necessarily *limited* in its operations, you may safely trust it with absolute power, for it is *incapable* of using it.”

This incompetence of the legislative body to do certain acts which are contrary to the trust reposed in them and hostile to the liberty of the people, though it has been not fully assented to by one or two law writers whose professional habits of thinking seem to have narrowed their view of the broad principles of freedom and government, yet meets the fullest sanction of one of the greatest names of modern times—it is the doctrine of Locke. Speaking, in his *Essay on Government* (about the period of the Revolution, when the nature of English liberty began to be studied and understood) of the power of the legislature, he describes particular acts to which their power is incompetent. One of these is that specific act which the Irish Parliament will assume power to perform should they agree to an Union, that of transferring to other hands, not chosen by the people, the right of legislation.

“The legislature, says Mr. Locke, (on government, sect. 140.) cannot transfer the power of making laws to any other hands; for it being a delegated power from the people, they who have it cannot pass it over to others; the people alone can appoint the form of the commonwealth, which is, by constituting the legislature, and appointing in whose hands it shall be. The power of the legislature being derived from the people, by a positive voluntary grant and institution, can be no other than what that positive grant conveyed, *which being only to make laws, and not to make legislators, the legislature can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, and place it in other hands.*”

Again, in his chapter on the dissolution of government—“The legislature acts against the trust reposed in them when they endeavour to invade the property of the subject, and to make themselves, or any part of the community, *masters, or arbitrary disposers* of the lives, liberties, or fortunes of the people.”

“A violation of the trust reposed in them by the legislature, Mr. Locke goes so far as to say expressly, is a dissolution of the government—and he mentions, as a specific instance of breach of trust that dissolves the government, that very act which must necessarily be implied in an Union. “*The delivery, also,*” says he, “*of the people into the subjection of a FOREIGN power, either by the prince, or by the legislature, is certainly a change of the legislature, and so a dissolution of the government—for the end why people entered into society being to be preserved one entire, free, INDEPENDENT society; to be governed by ITS OWN laws—this is lost whenever they are given up into the power of another.*”

It would surely be superfluous to seek farther authorities on this point, when a writer, whose doctrines for a century have been sanctioned by the assent of the men most learned in the constitution of England, and have been inculcated in your University, in every successive generation of legislators, from his own time to the present hour, declares in such express and warm language, "that the legislative body HAVE NO RIGHT to alter the legislature—that they CANNOT transfer the power with which the people have invested them into other hands—and that should they attempt to deliver over the people they govern to another country, the government, itself, would *ipso facto* be DISSOLVED!"

To apply these doctrines to the present case, it remains only to shew, that an Union would be an alteration of the legislature—that it would be a transfer by the parliament, who should vote such a measure, of their authority into other hands—and that by an Union this country would be rendered subject to Great Britain. But these propositions are truisms. Can it be doubted, that an abolition, for ever, of the distinct and independent Parliament of Ireland, and a substitution of the British legislation in its stead, is an alteration of the legislature? Can it be doubted, that by giving to the British Parliament, increased by a few Irish representatives, the right of governing Ireland, the Irish legislature would transfer to other hands the right which the people had entrusted into their hands only? Can it, in a word, be doubted, that an Union would, for ever, deliver up the people of Ireland to the good will and pleasure of the British people? As yet I have never heard any of these points questioned, and until I do I shall advance no farther argument to prove them.

[To be concluded in our next.]

LLOYD'S LIST EXTRAORDINARY.

ARRIVED in *Castle-haven* harbour, the Ordnance bomb-catch, Hon. T. P. captain, with the Union flag hoisted, after a cruise in the Lakes of Westmeath—out ten days, took nothing.

WANTED—A COLONEL OF MILITIA.

HE must weigh from 17 to 19 stone—be turned of 40—have a stoop—be near-sighted and wear spectacles—slobbering no objection. He must never have been

in a military situation before, least he may be prejudiced in favour of old systems, and not ready to adopt new tactics. He must have a fortune of near 8000l. a year that he may be above any temptation to desert from the King to the People. He must be a Member of Parliament, but not a *speaker*, and may if he pleases be a Commissioner of the Revenue. Apply at Maryborough for particulars, in haste. He will, if approved of, be employed, *Ceate qui Coute*.

Erratum—in this last article—last line—for Coute, read Court.

The following State Paper, which has not yet been made public, we have received through the kindness of our friend Mr. Nabman, a person of eminence in the Profession.

Petition of the BAILIFFS of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament,

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioners are practitioners and followers of the law—and that previous to the year 1782, the branch of the profession to which they belong, received in this-kingdom, the most liberal encouragement from both the English and Irish Legislatures—that in the said year, certain laws were enacted, which partially and unjustly preferred the interests of the merchants and manufacturers of the nation, to the more useful services of your Petitioners—that by means of the aforesaid iniquitous and oppressive laws, your Petitioners were reduced to indigence, while they had the mortification to see tradesmen and mechanics of all descriptions, acquiring wealth, and flourishing in prosperity, and (to the shame of the kingdom be it spoken) from the manner in which the spunging-houses and debtors'-prisons were deserted, it seemed as if there were neither law nor justice in the country;—But your Petitioners have heard with much satisfaction and gratitude, that the English Ministry and Irish Government have formed a scheme whereby the trading part of the community will be put down to its former and natural situation, your Petitioners be greatly benefited, and the prisons again stocked with inhabitants.—Your petitioners humbly trust, that your honours will consider their case with kindness and compassion, and that for their sakes you will adopt the measure of an UNION with Gt. Britain, in which your Petitioners, (with their wife and patriotic friends, the members of the D'oyer hundred in the city of Cork) can see nothing but private emolument, and public advantage. And Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1799.

No. XV.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

(Continued from our last.)

GENTLEMEN,

I HAD written that part of my address to you, which you have had the goodness to publish in your two last papers, before the sense of the legislature was known on the great subject of a Legislative Union. It was part of my original plan, after proving that such a measure would have been a surrender of our constitution, and that therefore the legislature was incompetent to enact it, to exhort my countrymen to put forth all the strength with which the constitution vests them, to prevent that measure. I designed to press on them the memorable advice of the constitutional Locke, "That it might be too late to erect for themselves a new legislature, when by oppression, artifice, or being delivered over to a foreign power, their *old one was gone*, and that therefore they have not only a *right to get out* of the difficulty into which such a measure would bring them, but to *prevent it*." Locke on Gov. ch. 19. But I congratulate my country, that it is now become unnecessary to resort to such topics. The spirit of the metropolis, the energetic opposition which the country at large began to make to the degrading measure, the virtue and good sense of the Irish commons, and, will you permit me to add, the zealous and able exertions which you, gentlemen, have made, in rousing the latent energies, and guiding the intellect of the people of Ireland, at that important moment—ALL have combined to repel the insolent and insidious attack upon our liberties, and under God's blessing, have covered the head of our enemy with confusion and dishonour! Ireland is yet FREE! and that CONSTITUTION, which was destined for immolation at the altar of BRITISH POWER, has come forth from the contest not only victorious, but vested with new strength, which, I trust, ensures its immortality!

I should now, therefore, throw by my pen and enjoy in humble silence, with my countrymen, the proud and signal victory which has crowned their efforts, but that some arguments for the competency of the legislature to enact this measure have been urged in the contest, which I think it becomes me, who have denied that competency, to answer. Those arguments are but few, and I am glad it will not be necessary for me, in advertising to them, to try your patience, as I have already

done. They may be answered in a word: The first of these arguments is, "That the Scotch Union is a practical proof that the legislature have a power, or right, to enact such a measure." I answer, the Scotch Union only proves that which I have not denied, "that a legislature *with the express consent of the people*, are competent to that change in the constitution." The parliament which voted the Scotch Union were elected by the people at a time when it was known that a legislative union was to be submitted to their consideration. It is therefore most reasonable to suppose they came commissioned by their constituents to decide on that question. But even if that were not so, I would yet hesitate to infer that the Irish Parliament was competent to such a measure because the Scotch Parliament assumed that competence—for it is well known that the constitution of the two bodies was not the same—and besides, this difference in the constitution of the two legislatures, it is very far from certain, that, even in the Scotch Parliament, the assumption of that power, was not an usurpation. But if I had none of those arguments to meet this solitary instance, I would answer it in this way, "That the LIBERTY of a people is *not to depend on a PRECEDENT*—that I have the principles and the spirit of the constitution with me, when I say such a measure is a subversion of the freedom and independence of the nation, and that therefore no precedent could sanctify it."

Another argument for the competency of the legislature, is derived from the power exercised by parliament, to limit the succession to the crown. This, it is said, was an alteration of the constitution, and if parliament can alter the constitution in one way, they are competent to do so in every other. I have already given an answer to arguments of this kind, by distinguishing between those alterations which go only to regulate the exercise of public rights, and those which amount to a complete subversion of them. The octennial bill, and the limitation of the succession, are instances of the former kind—evidently calculated for public good, and the security of public freedom; besides, they are regulations which it always remains in the power of the legislature to repeal if they please. An Union is, I have proved, a total subversion of the independence, freedom, and constitution, of the country: a measure, irrevocable in its nature, and which annihilates for ever the power of the country to repeal it. It is, therefore, a measure, to which, I say, no legislature is competent—however adequate may be its power to minor alterations.

There remains to be considered, only that argument which is drawn from the conduct or opinions of a few who are called constitutional lawyers. Of these, Lord

Somers is the first, who, by engaging in the negotiation of the Scotch Union, is said to have acknowledged the competency of the Scots parliament to enact it. It is a sufficient answer to give to this, that the inference is illogical. Lord Somers was not bound to enquire into the competence of the Scots Parliament, before he accepted on the part of *his* country a surrender of the constitution of *theirs*. It was the sole enquiry of the politician, in which character alone he acted in that affair, whether the people were inclined to *assent* to the act of their legislature, or whether, if they did not assent, they had the power to *annul* it?

But "Coke and Blackstone assert the unqualified competence of the legislature in all cases." I deny that their doctrines are to be understood in that way; because there never yet has been a writer who has asserted the competency of the legislature to enslave the nation they governed. No human understanding would assent to such a proposition. It is evident, therefore, there must be at least this limitation to the supreme power of the legislature and if the doctrines of these writers be understood with this limitation, I say they do not assert the power of the legislature to enact, without the express consent of the people, an Union, such as Ireland must have, if she has any, with Great Britain, because that Union would be a virtual surrender of the liberties and constitution of the country. But what are the words of Blackstone, on which so much stress is laid? Do they admit the construction which is given them? "Parliament," says he, "can change, and create afresh, even the constitution of the kingdom, and of parliaments, themselves, as was done by the act of Union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections." Now what do these words import? They assert the power to change, and create afresh, that is, to *renovate*—but do they assert a power to destroy the constitution, and transfer the people to slavery, or the subjection of a foreign power? Do the people of England understand these words so, or if they did, would they assent to the doctrine? No, certainly. But on what facts did Blackstone found this doctrine? He tells us in the very same sentence, from the act of Union, and the statutes of triennial and septennial elections; the doctrine therefore, is to be understood as co-extensive with these instances only:—"The parliament can change, and create afresh, the constitution, &c. as was done by the Union and septennial acts." Now, of what parliament is Blackstone speaking? The English parliament. He therefore, says—the English parliament has a right to change the constitution as the *English* parliament did by the act of Union—not annihilate the constitution and independence of this country as the *Scotch* parliament did by their act of Union. Blackstone was not considering the competency of the Scotch parliament to surrender, but of the English parliament to accept the surrender of the liberties and independence of Scotland. What he would have said of the competency of the English parliament to surrender the liberties of Englishmen by a legislative Union with the Jacobins of France, I believe every constitutional English and Irishman can easily conceive. Thus, I think, a full answer has been

given to the only arguments by which the competency of the Irish legislature to enact an Union has been supported.

But is this a speculative question which the weight of argument is to decide? Alas! no. It is, and must always be, a practical question between the virtue of the people and their representatives, and the influence of the British minister; and much I fear, it is a question, that between these parties will be again agitated. Fortunately for us, the utmost exertion of that influence has been, for the present, found unable to bear down the good sense and energetic honesty of the Irish people; but who knows when they shall be again put to the trial? The enemy of Irish independence has boldly avowed, that he will NEVER LOSE SIGHT of his darling project—the project of engrafting our happiness upon our slavery, and strengthening the British empire by the abolition of Irish Liberty. It is therefore, become necessary, that my countrymen should continue alert and vigilant—and I will venture to tell you, Irishmen, that if you do not *watch* your constitution, it is gone! Keep your lamps trimmed and your loins girded—else, at such an hour as you think not, like a thief in the night, your enemy will come upon you! The storm which shook your peace, and was near uprooting your independence has, for the present, passed over you, but the horizon is yet black with clouds that threaten another tempest! Prepare against it. Recollect what it was that induced your danger and to what you owe your deliverance. Your danger was created by your discord—your civil dissensions—your religious animosities. For your safety you are indebted to a hearty concurrence of all parties in resisting by CONSTITUTIONAL means this assault on your freedom. Had you continued divided, your enemy had triumphed. Had you resorted to violence or tumult, you were now no longer FREE IRISHMEN, but BRITISH PROVINCIALS. Remember this, then, and while you learn to know and love the constitution endeavour to cultivate an unanimity to defend it.—Above all, guard against this FATAL MEASURE! Let no sophistry, let no hope induce you to support it: It is that DEADLY FRUIT which the interdict of heaven forbids you to touch—IF YOU TASTE YOU DIE!

And now, gentlemen, permit me on the part of my country, as well as my own, to thank YOU for the honest zeal and promptitude with which you have stepped forward at an anxious moment to oppose the common enemy. Should you now retire from the field after having so nobly contributed to secure the victory, I can only wish that the laurels you have gathered may long flourish on your brow,—that should our country at some remote period be again called on to defend its liberties against the hostile assaults of an insolent, a vain, and a profligate minister, you may be yet vigorous, as now, to repel the attack; or that you may have left behind you a posterity equally enlightened and virtuous, to copy the example you have set them, and to assist in defending that constitution which you shall have transmitted to them unsullied and entire!

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

Latet anguis in herbâ.

THE historian, Tacitus, has been thought by many too subtle and refined in tracing the sources of human action, and in the developement of character. But it requires talent to judge of talent; and the acute sagacity, and profound sense of the philosophic historian, are far beyond the ken of the generality of readers. In our judgment of mankind we may, it is true, err from a fastidious rejection of obvious appearances, and an affected pursuit of recondite and remote causes. Truth is not always at the bottom of the well. In general, however, men, particularly those who act on the theatre of public life, are so different, in fact, from what they seem to be, that whoever would judge soundly must examine, with the most scrupulous suspicion, every appearance, or nine times out of ten, he will mistake the semblance for the reality. In no instance, that I have ever met with, is the justness of this observation more strikingly illustrated, than in the character of one, who has long acted a most distinguished part, even in an age pregnant with mighty events. Even in an eventful æra, the character of Mr. Pitt is interesting: indeed, if considered in what appears to me the only just point of view, the most truly interesting character that ever was exhibited in the political world. Various hypothesis have been framed to explain this extraordinary phenomenon; most of them contradictory, and in my mind, all of them false. That he is a hypocrite seems generally agreed: this, however, is but half of the definition, and the most unimportant half. To ascertain the particular kind of hypocrite—to mark those appropriate qualities which individualize and insulate the man, *hoc opus, hic labor, est*—here it is, that this wonderful Proteus has eluded the grasp of all who have hitherto endeavoured to bind and expose him. With one epithet in particular he is commonly branded—that of apostate—and the charge of inconsistency is loudly and confidently repeated from one declaimer to another. Now, so far from deserving the reproach of apostacy and inconsistency, he has been, I will venture to affirm, the most faithful and consistent character that ever directed the affairs of a state. The end which he has had in view has been uniformly one and the same; and it is from having changed his means, with the most consummate dexterity and profound dissimulation, that he has deceived the world into a belief that he has relinquished those principles which characterized his early life. But to pursue this wonderful man through the whole of his political career would not suit with the nature of a periodical paper: there is not, however, a single part of his conduct which cannot be easily and satisfactorily explained on

the hypothesis, that with all his affectation of love for old establishments, he is at bottom the most determined friend to revolution—whereas every other that has hitherto been published, represents him as the strangest and most inconsistent compound of talent and folly, of wisdom in the end, and inadaptation of the means, that can well be imagined. For instance, it is generally supposed that Mr. Pitt is the great supporter of the British constitution, and the integrity of the British empire—and that in conformity to this character he has now attempted the legislative incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland, as a happy counteraction to republican principles, and ideas of separation, in both countries. It is true, many of his warmest admirers, while they give him full credit for the purity of his views, and the rectitude of his end, entertain considerable doubts of the propriety of the means. But this is doing great injustice to the judgment of this consummate politician: Mr. Pitt is no supporter of the British constitution—no friend to the integrity of the empire:—the British constitution he endeavours to destroy, by depriving it of that strength which it must ever derive from the liberty of Ireland; and the empire he has determined to dismember by the very act of apparent consolidation. The Union of British and Irish legislatures is a *chef d'œuvre* of policy, planned for the sole purpose of effectuating an eternal separation of the countries. Hence it is that Mr. Pitt has hitherto persecuted separation principles with such unrelenting rigor, in order completely to deceive the crown and the aristocracy into a persuasion that he is their fast friend, while he is aiming a mortal blow at their very existence. Had he suffered the separatists to proceed in their own way, the people of Ireland must, from a variety of obvious causes, have been divided on the great question of British connexion;—and the strength of the friends of that connexion must have made the success of the separation extremely doubtful. Therefore, with admirable address, he resolved to sap the fortress, which it might be hazardous to storm;—and is now proceeding to disunite and weaken the advocates of British connexion, by exciting in their minds suspicions and apprehensions of the designs of England on Irish trade, Irish property, and Irish liberty. Were not this his object, can it be conceived for a moment that the minister would, at such a season, intemperately press a Union in direct opposition to the loud and almost universal outcry of all the staunch supporters of monarchy and British connection? It is utterly impossible to account for such conduct but on the supposition which I have suggested. This arch hypocrite—this wily republican—this subtle jacobine—this ambitious anarchist, finds that war and taxes have not as rapidly, as he wished and expected, accomplished the great work of dethroning his royal master; and therefore, in the impatience of his revolutionary zeal, he has now struck at the very foundation of the edifice of British constitution, and British power. By effecting the separation of Britain and Ireland, he expects, and with rea-

son expects, to see two republics rise out of the ruins of one monarchy. Let kings and nobles look to him.

DETECTOR.

Tunc quoque materiam risus invenit.

JUV. SAT. 10.

MORE great and unheard-of advantages of the intended Union, most preposterously believed by ninety-nine in an hundred to be ruinous to this kingdom, but which fortunately, notwithstanding, is soon to take place.

IN TRADE AND MANUFACTURES.

Export (generally speaking) being most advantageous to a kingdom, we shall be astonishing gainers in this respect, by the measure; because our export of all kinds of raw materials, will encrease beyond example. This, besides being so beneficial in itself, will be most lucrative in saving the labour of working them up at home; the cost of erecting machinery, &c. &c. and doubtless Great Britain will be magnanimous enough to give every possible encouragement to our enjoyment of this great branch of commerce.

We shall have the advantage of all the industry of England, and be completely supplied with every article of manufacture, without any further trouble to ourselves, except merely—finding money to pay for them. Thus we shall most profitably divide the advantages between the two countries. We finding the material, and England the workmanship; the balance, therefore, being manifestly in our favor, thro' the great generosity of our sister.

IN MORALITY.

Drunkeness being one of the great sources of profligacy, will be happily entirely dried up in this country for ever. First, because it being a vice of society, it must decrease in proportion as population diminishes, which will then be very rapid in Ireland. Next because the people will have no means to lavish in such pernicious indulgences. And lastly, being constantly under the eyes of the English soldiers, (those great preservers of purity) they would not dare to offend against the will and pleasure of such pastors.

As all nonsensical hopes of ever being bettered in circumstances, will be effectually removed from the people, it will take away, at the same time, that desire of looking forward, which is so apt to create a neglect of the present. Beside, it will no doubt strongly implant the desire of peace and acquiescence, by convincing the people they can't be worse off than they will then be.

IN EXPENCES, &c. &c.

The taxes we shall then have to pay, tho' to be sure they may seem to be enormous, will, in reality, be no burthen at all. For as lands and houses will then greatly fall in their value, their rents will sink in an equal degree; so that the payments will only just be called taxes then, instead of rents as they are now. This will be beside a very just punishment inflicted upon the landlords of all descriptions, for their villainy in taking up arms lately as yeomen; and a great advantage to the kingdom, by throwing its cash into the English treasury, to pay soldiers, &c. to keep this country in order, instead of giving it to individuals, to be circulated all thro' the land, in the purchase of a thousand fooleries.

To equalize the property of a country among its people, all political writers allow to be a grand desideratum. Now, altho' this to be sure will not be exactly the case here, yet as all the rich folks will then certainly live out of the kingdom, all the residents will be equally poor, and that will be just as good. Beside, the Union will be extremely beneficial too, in encreasing wonderfully, that useful, but much-traduced race of people, called middle men—who have been most injudiciously almost exterminated, within the last eighteen years, in Ireland.

Tho' you used me unkindly, in publishing a part of my last, which I begged of you not to do, and altho' I know my thoughts will be stolen, and inserted in the pamphlet said to be written by one Cook, if another edition of it should be printed; yet, as I believe we both devise the same thing—the good of the people, I mean you, Mr. Anti-Union, and myself, for as to this anonymous Cook, I have some doubts about what his intentions or wishes are—I here write again to you. However, be more delicate I pray, in future, in your conduct towards your fellow-labourer, and &c. &c.

F.

A PATRIOT.

SIR,

Dub'in, Jan. 16, 1799.

IHAVE the pleasure to inform you, that when the Legislative Union takes place, there is to be a Bounty on the Export of TURF to England, to enable us to undersell the Whitehaven Colliers in the important article of fuel; this measure will enhance the value of Irish Bogs, improve the interior of the country, and promote the Canal, alias Channel, Trade.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,
ROGER GOWER, Clk. of the Hofiers.

To Mr. Darby Molloy,
Bog of Allan.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31, 1799.

No. XVI.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the discussion of a Legislative Union with Great Britain has been forced upon us, I will condescend, without combating every assertion, or needlessly repeating what others have said, to notice a few particulars upon which some writers seem to place their firmest confidence. 'The Union with *Scotland* is their grand example, and to make it apposite to the present case they boldly assert, that, "in the situation which *Scotland* held previous to the Union does *Ireland* stand at present," and from thence they infer, that as *Scotland* advanced in improvement since the Union, so must *Ireland* in a similar degree.

This argument being founded on the assumption of a fact, I may presume to hope, that if the fact fails, the conclusion will vanish. I will therefore undertake to demonstrate to the conviction of the most unlettered mind, that *Ireland* does NOT stand at present in the situation which *Scotland* held previous to the Union.

I might admit (tho' the fact is denied by the best Scotch writers,) that the Union has been of advantage to *Scotland*, and that every circumstance of reason, policy, and common sense conspire to recommend the measure to each country, and that it was finally accomplished to the happiness of both. For these assertions it is not necessary for my argument to controvert, therefore I shall not expatiate upon these topics, but come at once to the point which it is my duty to establish.

The consideration of this subject naturally falls into a two-fold division:—1st. What was the state of the trade of *Scotland* previous to the Union? 2d. What was her constitution?—Every collateral circumstance may be reduced to one or other of these. Agriculture and manufactures will be involved in the examination of commerce: The internal polity, and domestic administration may be included in the survey of the constitution.

Before the Union, *Scotland* had no vent for her black cattle, a considerable article with all the landholders; whereas she now drives great numbers of them annually into *England*; they could not be exported to a more distant country; for the soil of *Scotland* is too poor, and though she may breed great numbers, she cannot prepare them for an immediate market; she therefore sends them lean into *England*, where they are fatted; so that without this intervention of a better soil,

they must remain useless upon the hands of the grazier. Such was *Scotland* before the Union—Can any man say that such is the case of *Ireland*?

Look here upon this picture, and on this.

Ireland! whose soil is so rich as to excite the jealousy of the *English* farmer; whose land has been described as flowing with milk and honey, and whose highest hills supply nurture.

Have you eyes?

Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moor?

The Scotch now export the skins and wool of their sheep in kind and manufacture; whereas before the Union they could only send the raw material into *England*, and receive it manufactured from thence. There was a prohibition against exporting plaids, which immediately after the Union was taken off, and they are now become a considerable article of trade. 'The wonderful improvements that have obtained in their fisheries, which have given not only employment and food, but wealth, to such a number of inhabitants, must appear too evident to need recital. A people extremely poor, receiving no benefit from external traffic, nor reaping the advantage of a wealthy connexion, cannot undertake, much less carry on, any considerable manufacture. This was the case with *Scotland*; but by the Union, her exports were augmented; she since that receives the specie of *England*, and she is thereby enabled to improve her linen manufacture, which *Ireland* must see with regret, has been encouraged in detriment to her's. Since the Union, *Scotland* has enjoyed the trade to the Plantations in the most extensive degree: before that she was neither allowed to participate of the advantages arising from the discoveries of others, nor to reap the fruits of her own enterprise.—I say allowed, for thro' the combined prevalence of *English* influence and *English* jealousy, every attempt was defeated; shall I mention their failure at *Darien*? Where was the boasted independency of their government—their separate parliament—and their extensive representation? They viewed with silent, but unavailing anguish, the extirpation of their own offspring, and were involved in the general bankruptcy which ensued: Since the Union, they have been in possession of an unlimited, unrestrained trade, to the whole of the British Plantations, without having contributed to the expence of their establishment.

Here then let me pause, and putting the two countries again in *juxta-position*, let me ask, Can any simili-

tude be discovered between the foregoing delineation of Scotland, and the present state of Ireland. The former without a trade, particularly in the several articles I have enumerated, and with a parliament, either unable, or unwilling, to redeem her: The latter in the full enjoyment of a trade, and having a parliament, tho' not so pure perhaps, as might be wished, yet occasionally capable of virtuous exertion, to secure their own independence, and the freedom of the country. If, after this comparison, any man can command official, or sepulchral gravity, to enable him to repeat the assertion, I must attribute it to the pertinacity of self-opinion, which is gratified with the repetition of what no man will believe.

I now come to the second branch of the division, viz. What was the state of the Constitution of Scotland, previous to the Union? This can be briefly disposed of; I have already observed, that her parliament was inadequate to the protection of her commerce. She had a separate parliament it is true; but her Lords were an overgrown aristocracy, and her Commons were miserable dependants; nothing was regarded but the interests of the former, and if their obstinate adherence to a particular family, or their aversion to the English nation, impelled them to arms, the Commons followed with the alacrity of military discipline; such was their constitution—military vassalage, subservient to feudal power, which rendered the country a constant scene of hopeless calamity, and barren sorrow.

Can it be said, with any semblance of truth, that such is the Constitution of Ireland? The Peers preserve the dignified authority, tho' stripped of the dangerous power of feudal Barons—the Commons sit in a separate House, and exclusively originate the money bills; while the people have risen into consequence and wealth. Other improvements must necessarily arise in the progress of time, if her government would sincerely endeavour to secure the blessings of peace.

Upon this part of the subject, the abettors of Union are involved in perplexity. An unqualified admission of the independence of the Irish Parliament, would defeat their favorite plan: To acknowledge its submission to British influence, would proclaim a degree of turpitude somewhere, which it is not thought fit to avow; they have, however, chosen the latter; and those who have most closely examined the inmost recesses of Parliament, and are become familiar with its remotest springs of action, proclaim to the world, with unabashed effrontery, that the Irish Commons consist of two parties, "*the mean and CORRUPT subservients of the BRITISH CABINET, and the allies of a British Faction.*"

Perhaps

"There needs no ghost come from the gloomy grave to tell us this;"

but it is rather singular that it should be so openly avowed; For how barbarous that tyrant must be, who adds contumely to oppression—who, not content with the unrestrained exercise of his authority, galls with insult the wretched slave of his power; and with a refinement

of cruelty, hitherto unpractised, converts even the passive temper and submission of his subject, into a topic of reproach! This may prove too much for human nature to endure. Methinks I see in the dismissal of the ancient and long-approved servants of the crown, the reviving spirit of former days. I hail it as an auspicious omen! I anticipate, from such stubborn virtue, the safety of my country.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

Si scelus admittas dabitur mora parvula, dum res
Nota Urbi et Populo.

JOURNAL SAT. 10.

GENTLEMEN,

MY purpose in now addressing you, is to declare a rooted, and I trust a well-grounded conviction, that the present parliament of Ireland, (especially the popular branch of it,) has *no right* to accede to a measure of the kind now in contemplation, so as to produce an operation more extensive, than merely upon the members themselves who compose it as individuals. I mean so far as to be a mere declaration of their opinions on the subject. As this is a point which has already been maintained, I will not recapitulate the arguments brought in defence of it by others, but urge one, grounded upon a distinction between the rights of the elector and representative, which seems to me to be neither abstruse nor metaphysical, one, which I have not seen before, but which as it has had great influence upon my mind, may possibly have some force upon the minds of other men.

It is certain according to the laws and constitutions of these kingdoms as they now stand, that at stated times, and occasionally oftner, all difference of representative and elector ceases, and both parties then form one mass of electors only. When this situation of things occurs, it should seem to the eye of reason contemplating what takes place upon such an occurrence, that the people when they proceed to create again do create, and till then, non-existent right, without parting with another right, which remains co-existent with that. They have conveyed a *delegated* right to the representative, but the right of *delegating* still continues in them. That right of *delegating* remains as strongly with, and is as much inherent in, the elector after his choosing a representative, as it was before his choice, or at the moment he was exercising it. It is a right he cannot delegate, but certainly may otherwise part with. The *right* of choice must be in him, while he continues to be freeholder, freeman, or burgess. He can authorize no man living to exercise that right for him. He cannot by any possibility convey the use, and retain the right. It is per-

sonal while it exists at all, and tho' other rights may be founded upon, and issue from it, yet the thing itself which forms this foundation, and from whence those issues proceed, must remain in him. If he could delegate to another the right of choosing, then would that right cease to be in him, but, after choosing a representative that right does not cease to be in him, but is merely dormant until again called into action, and if his right does not cease to be in him, his right then cannot exist in another? Now, if this is granted (as indeed it cannot be denied) it follows necessarily, that there is a right in the elector, which never has been, never could have been conveyed to a representative, and therefore, does not, nor ever did exist in him as acting for the elector, and therefore, that he never can convey for the elector what he never did possess. If then a man undertakes or purports to sell or grant away that of which he has neither the legal right nor actual possession, would it not be the height of insanity in another man, in whom both are vested even for a moment to think himself bound to confirm such a sale, or ratify such a grant? But it may be (nay it has been) said, that as representatives are to be sent from this kingdom to the British parliament after an Union, that a vote of Union is no assumption of any right not actually in the present Irish House of Commons, nor does it interfere with the right of choice in their electors, but leaves their right the same it was before such a vote. But, gentlemen, the assertion is an impudent falsehood, and the theoretic reasoning, by which it has been attempted to support it, is a base and vain sophistry, too thin to deceive the weakest understanding. Is it the same thing whether you delegate your right of managing your own concerns to the majority of your own representatives, in your own country, under your own eyes, or, are compelled to delegate the management of them to a body of strangers, in a foreign land, distant from observation, and who form a majority of more than eleven to two against your representatives? Who can convince any man, even one degree removed from idiotism, that, if the power, the influence, the energy, of the representative are curbed, contracted, and benumbed, that those of the elector are not operated upon exactly in the same proportion? Who will prove, that if you remove all possibility of any beneficial effect being produced from any exercise of a right, that still that right remains in the same state, and is just as valuable, as when its being exercised was capable of producing every thing estimable?

Who can establish any essential difference between absolutely, and in terms depriving a man of a right, and doing that, which of necessary consequence renders that right worse than useless? What logics, metaphysics, philosophy, or fact, can bring it into doubt, that the electors of Ireland will not be in a fatally different situation indeed, from that in which they now stand, if they should allow the present members of their House of Commons, by any act of theirs, to have any share in vesting the power of oppressing them to any extent, in

a majority of representatives chosen in another country by foreign electors? I will not add what I might justly do, to shew the possible (not improbable) horrors that may be consequent on such an admission. It would be villainous to assert, and phrenzy to believe it; yet monstrous, gross, and unsupported, as it is even by the most visionary theory, such an assertion has been made. It has been asserted (good God who could have believed it) that the Irish trade and manufactures will flourish and increase, when the encouragement and protection of them are committed to a majority of representatives, chosen by electors who have either an interest in their depression or annihilation; or else, in partly cherishing them merely to squeeze their profits in taxation for their own relief. It has been asserted that the powers of Irish representatives will be enlarged, and the rights of Irish electors improved, by Irish representatives having two shares in eleven in the direction of affairs relative to their own country only, instead of having the sole disposal of them in themselves alone.

HIBERNICUS.

To the Virtuous and Public Spirited Corporation of the

CITY OF CORK.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE read your addresses to his Majesty and the Lord Lieutenant upon the great and important subject which now agitates the public mind:—as a native of your city, the honour and interest of which have ever been dear to my heart, it is impossible for me to express the deep concern I feel on this occasion. You are certainly the chief, if not the only, body of Irishmen who have stood forth in the degrading posture of supplicants, entreating to be bound and fettered, disclaiming all pretensions to the dignity of freedom, surrendering as cowards those blessings of independence with which Providence has peculiarly favoured you, and despairing not only of all virtuous efforts in yourselves, but even of the goodness of God, which has so often protected our unhappy country—thanks to his gracious benevolence, that your conduct is as singular as it is unworthy—and that your feeble cry is drowned in the firm and decided voice of a nation determined to be free. In vain do I look now for those great energies which, not twenty years past, raised you into a proud competition with the most spirited part of Ireland. In vain do I seek for that character which inspired your gallant volunteers of that day, at once to repel the foreign invader, to maintain internal peace, and to rescue your country from slavery and oppression. Can it be credited, that the same

men, or their sons, have so far degenerated as to abandon without a struggle, or rather to yield without sollicitation, that independence and that constitution for which you then even dared to shed your blood? What is become, I ask, of these gallant patriots? And why do they not come forward at this time to vindicate themselves from the charge of selfishness, or cowardice, or corruption, in which they are implicated by your base proceedings?

It cannot surely be that they are panic struck by the late wicked attempts to overturn the state: it is the part of brave men to meet those dangers and to conquer them as the loyal sons of Ireland have done, instead of throwing up every thing in despair, and lying at the mercy of an haughty superior. If the domestics of your house should rise within for the purposes of robbery and murder, and by the aid of faithful friends you are enabled to put down the insurgents, would you listen to the overtures of a strong and powerful man without doors, who should desire you to abandon your whole property, and leave it to his protection? And would his arguments have the greater weight if you knew that for a long time your protector had kept a forcible possession of your rights, but being obliged at last to restore them, never forgave the act of justice to which this was owing? In such a case you would cheerfully accept his assistance, without submitting to his power; and you would not fail to make him every suitable return of kindness in the moment of his distress. I have known a coward, while under the sense of danger, run into some hole or corner to hide his head, while in the folly of his cowardice he seems unconscious that the rest of his person remains defenceless and exposed. Nothing, indeed, can be more contemptible than such self abandonment and despair. But I cannot think so meanly of my fellow-citizens as to ascribe their conduct to such a cause; and yet, if we examine the matter a little more closely, I am afraid it will be found to arise from motives as little to their honour. The public seem to think, that a sacrifice of the general good is, in this instance, made to the paltry and miserable hopes of local advantage—and they are confirmed in this opinion by observing, that no other place of consequence has taken an active part in forging our chains. If this suspicion be just, you are, indeed, a degraded people, and unworthy of all intercourse with your betrayed country. Perhaps you indulge in golden dreams of wealth and commerce—you are to have a dock-yard, too, it seems. Alas! How meanly must the British minister think of your understanding, when he gulls you with fallacious hopes of the former? How poorly of your spirit, when he dares to offer the latter as a bribe and barter for the liberties of Ireland? And can you be so weak as to think that your trade will ever be suffered to triumph over the trade of England, while both are under the controul

and regulation of the English Parliament? What new infatuation is this in men, who, some years ago, looked with a jealous eye to every measure of that parliament, and who found it necessary to wrest the power out of their hands which had been so grossly abused? I wish not to press this matter further—your recollection will serve the public cause (if you have a recollection of your former honour) better than my arguments.

For my own part, although I must freely acknowledge, that in my opinion, several individuals may be found in the two classes now described, yet I am inclined to think, the great body of citizens are at present under the fatal influence of those parties who have engrossed the whole authority among you. The two *noble* and *patriotic* and *honourable* leaders of those parties are, it is said, friends to the measure; they have, no doubt, made terms for themselves, as well as for some dependants. The sensible and virtuous part of you know the characters of these noble Lords well—perhaps it is the merited confidence which you repose in their wisdom and public virtues that makes you run down with the stream of which they are the pure fountains: I too know them well, and can discern the wires with which they move the machinery of your great city. They were formerly rival show-men, but having met with frequent crosses and hitches in each others movements, they have for some time come to an accommodation, and so carry on their business at present with great ease and satisfaction.

It is wonderful how expert they are; for they can make their puppets take any position they please, change sides, and go through all the mazes of the political dance. All which is entertaining enough, so long as the pantomime is confined to the common incidents of life, which are the true subject of comedy. But when these show-men dare to represent tragical scenes of the deepest interest and moment; and when in their exhibition they recommend sentiments and actions, that offend every virtuous and honorable mind, it is time for the public to interpose, and restrain their assurance. To be serious, there are great occasions relating to the liberties and constitution of a country, where the people ought to be left free to the honest judgment of their own minds. Undue influence in such cases is a sort of treason: Private ambition should not be suffered to open her lips; for her breath will tarnish the fair and beautiful form of Liberty. All selfish, mean, and partial views, should melt away in the glorious perspective of national honor, and national independence.

HAMPDEN.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1799.

No. XVII.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PERMIT me to congratulate you, my countrymen, upon the late ever memorable event, which has probably been the means of securing your liberty and independence for ever; and allow me, at the same time, to make a few observations upon the subject, which seem proper, in order that we may derive solid advantages from this happy occasion.

I make no doubt, that your wise politicians will treat with ridicule and contempt the first and most obvious reflection that occurs. But as I am a plain old fashioned man, who think there is some good in religion, I feel it my first duty to express my gratitude to that Supreme and Merciful Being who governs the world and decides the fate of nations. Already had his gracious Providence been signally manifested in saving our afflicted country from foreign invasion and domestic rebellion: already had he revealed to us the interposition of his Providence by commanding the elements to execute his will, and confounding the imaginations of our desperate enemy. And now, when the nation lay bleeding and exhausted by a virtuous and noble struggle, of which the most base and dishonourable advantage was taken to fetter our wearied limbs; he has again mercifully interposed, and by inspiring wisdom and firmness into our national councils rescued us from eternal infamy and ruin. These, if any human events are to be referred to God, and deserve a suitable return of praise, are surely among the most important of life, and there is no man, I trust, except the avowed atheist who will not on a little thought feel the sentiment here recommended. Perhaps occasions of this nature are intended by the Ruler of the world to turn our hearts from the foolish devices of human wisdom to the source of all knowledge and goodness; at least it is our business to consider them in that point of view, and to become in consequence a more religious and virtuous people—for to the decay of those principles we may in general trace the decline and fall of nations.

Next to this sentiment of gratitude to heaven, we owe sincere thanks and confidence to the virtuous body of our parliament, who have, at the hazard of all personal advantages, disappointed the ambitious views and resisted the imperious commands of the British minister. If we make a proper use of our glorious victory, nothing can have a better tendency to restore a mutual good understanding between the parliament and people.

It is now proved by a most decisive experiment, that however the majority of our representatives may in some instances of their conduct fail to act up to the wishes or expectations of the people, they are incapable of betraying their trust when liberty and the constitution are at stake. And as it would be absurd to require perfection in human nature, we shall be disposed to excuse those lesser offences, while we are secure of their truth and honour in all cases of essential or extreme moment. There are certainly instances upon the late occasion of the most exalted and disinterested public spirit and attachment to national honour, that are to be found in the history of the world. Several of our most distinguished characters might have obtained a rank and consideration in another country far higher than they can ever hope for at home—but they have nobly preferred their duty to their interest, and the welfare of their country to their own aggrandizement. If therefore, we are desirous of maintaining our reputation as a wise and generous people, we shall lose no opportunity of giving proofs of returning confidence towards such men—we shall defeat the wicked and infernal plan of distrust and dissension—we shall no longer look upon them with a jealous eye, because they have not shewn a readiness to run all lengths with the zeal and passions of the multitude—we shall not fear to commit the dearest interests of the nation to their wisdom and integrity, assured as the most incredulous among us must now be, that they are in heart the true and steady friends of Ireland.

There is another point, my countrymen, that I wish to impress upon your minds as materially connected with this subject. By the wisdom and integrity of your parliament you have defeated the plot of an insidious and treacherous minister; but do not suffer his attempt to make any alteration in your affections for England, who can by no means be charged with entertaining the same designs with him, and probably would, on her part, give a good deal of opposition to the measure—for she well knows, that any benefit of trade which should be held out to Ireland as a purchase for her independence, must so far injure her own commerce—and again, she could not help looking with apprehension to the stupendous increase of power with which the influx of so many Irish members must invest the minister. Every principle of justice and honour, therefore, demands from us as lively an attachment, and as zealous service towards England as ever. Nay, I will say that it is peculiarly incumbent on us to prove a more marked and unequivocal friendship for her, in the present posture of affairs, for by this liberal conduct, we shall silence those who are, always ready to

flander our character; and our sister kingdom will be made sensible that it is infinitely better to secure the heart of a generous friend, than to have the reluctant submission of a discontented slave. In the awful crisis of her affairs, we have taken our stand by her side, willing to share with her the danger and glory of the contest. Let us acquit ourselves with that spirit which is the characteristic of our nation. Let us shew our common enemy, that his attempts upon this country must be more vain than ever; for we have now additional motives to maintain our rights and liberties, in the conscious possession of a virtuous, independent parliament. Let our union be the union of interests and honor.—And may the connection upon these grounds, last for ever—may it prove a common benefit to both—and never be a stain or reproach to either!

HAMPDEN.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

All the World's a Stage!

SHAKSPEARE.

Castigat & rodendo mores.

HAVING been one of the audience allured by the variety of surprizing entertainments advertized in handbills to be presented on Tuesday Evening last, the 22d inst. at the Royal Circus in Foster Place, and finding no person has yet given any critique on the performances exhibited that night, I take up my pen to gratify the public curiosity, and satisfy those who could not procure places on that occasion.

Being an admirer of dramatic entertainments, and anxious for a good seat, I went at an early hour, and squeezed myself amidst the throng into the gallery, and found the house, what is dramatically called, a bumper: many beautiful women, equally excited by patriotism and the curiosity so peculiar to the charming sex, occupied the front rows of the boxes, kindly allowing the gentlemen (as there was hardly standing room) to press upon them, without complaining of any inconvenience, as all the ladies were interested about a Union that was to have Irish performers.

After a prologue, very well adapted to the occasion, (said to be written by an author famous for, and long in, the habits of that kind of composition) was recited by a most venerable and respectable performer. The celebrated piece, called the *Union; or, Ireland divided*, was then brought forward. I cannot say the plot was critically correct, but the incidents were admirably adapted

for stage effect;—some of the dialogue breathed a spirit of animated eloquence, brilliancy of fancy, and fire of patriotism, that would have done honour to Greece and Rome in their meridian splendor! As to the *unities of time and place*, the author, like *Shakspeare*, seems to have scorned the rules of the Stagyrite; for, during the representation, he not only transported the imagination, but the performers, from *Ireland to England*, and then back again, for purposes best known to himself, of which I must confess, I could neither see the propriety or necessity, as the interest of the piece was certainly confined to Ireland where the scene of action lay;—these absurdities, and the dismissal of some old excellent performers for refusing some disagreeable parts allotted them, they being much in favour of the public, damned the piece completely, though the managers were duped into a belief of its success, having had frequent rehearsals, and engaged more performers at a great salary, who assured them, as did the prompter, the piece would do; but it was received by the public with such marks of contempt and indignation, that when the curtain dropped, the author begged to withdraw it, promising not to hazard a second representation; thus, like the tragedy of *Vortigern*, palmed on the world as the production of our immortal bard, the *Union* was dismissed from the Irish stage for ever, unless the public called for another representation.

The after-piece, entitled *Patriotism*, met with the success and approbation it deserved, and was highly gratifying to the public.

The tricks and deceptions which promised so much entertainment were unworthy of the persons concerned, and too visible for legerdemain, to excite either surprise or admiration.

As to the performance of the *slack and tight rope*, the spectators were equally disappointed, from the puffs of the *play-bill*, (which was purchased with such avidity by the public). The next time such exhibitions are attempted, the managers ought to remove the preponderating weight of lead which evidently appeared at one end of the pole during the exhibition of the performers on the balance, and which occasioned so many falling to the ground.

But they kindly made us amends by the unexpected introduction of *animal magnetism*, which by the operation of the tongue and motion of the hands, produced an irresistible impulse on the audience, throwing some into a profound sleep, setting others a coughing, and what is more surprizing, gave such a voracious appetite to many, as to breed a famine in the coffee rooms, to which numbers adjourned during some part of the performance.

The young actor who was expected to leap through a

globe on fire, in the character of the Castle Spectre, failed in the attempt, and stuck in the middle, like *Mahomet* suspended between two loadstones; and though he was not precipitated like *Pilate-de-Rosier*, in a blaze from his baloon, and burnt to death, yet every one saw that he was most compleatly roasted.

The equestrian exercise at the upper end of the house concluded as was generally expected, the major part of that troop being well trained and thorough paced; particularly the black and white robed conjurers, who as high flyers and riding upon two or three saddles at a time, are at ease in every motion, knowing by experience the harder they gallop in the circle, the safer their position, and they can more easily translate themselves from one seat to another—one of that body, however, was deficient in such dexterity and was consequently *Down*. As to the other part of the troop they went round on one side with considerable velocity and leaped over garters while their eyes were fixed on the stars.

Signor *Parnelli*, though dismissed from the Orchestra, was too fond of antient Irish music not to be in the body of the house, and now and then during the chorus, gave a tune with his counter tenor, that drowned the best base voices.

I forgot to observe the introduction of *St. George*, as the champion for England, in the drama called the Union, was apposite enough, and in this instance, shewed a concatenation of ideas in the author, though it seemed very ungallant in the performer (which for old family reasons ought not to have happened) to turn tail on the heroine of the piece, called *Hibernia*, and to serve her as his name sake did the dragon; *St. Dennis* would not have behaved so. As to the character of *Caladonia* she was merely introduced as an attendant on *Britania* to carry on a counterplot, but like the gentle *Norah* in *Sheridan's* critic she only created derision.

Much more entertainment was given than the play bill announced: A provincial performer moved *Martini's* minute across the stage with rather an ill grace; however, he possesses the necessary assurance for the theatre, but we recommend it to the manager to be more attentive to costume and not to dress his first figurantes in *Cunnamara* stockings.

The young man who performed the *Castle Spectre*, after the failure we have already mentioned, endeavoured to regain his character by trying various feats of strength much beyond his prowess, and in an attempt to pitch the bar he hurt his fingers sorely and begged pardon of the house for his awkwardness: He even attempted a song and tried a parody composed by himself upon the popular air of *Sweet Robin*;—*Round Robin* was the burthen of this production, but it failed too, and he made a similar apology. The unfortunate boy was greatly mortified,

but no one pitied him—when a new performer in the character of a magician (and who seemed to bewitch the whole house) transformed the luckless youth into a green and limber twig, in which character he waded and flourished for the rest of the evening. The magician was performed by a Mr. Plunket who seemed to be a great favourite with the galleries, from its being supposed that he was a relation of their old friend Peg, but this we understand is a mistake. *The genius of Ireland* was done the greatest justice to by that steady and valuable performer Mr. Ponsonby—Mr. Egan who was expected to sing *Poor Jack* gave Paddy Whack without variations in a high stile—Mr. Callan we find has retired from the stage. In the new pantomime of *Avarice Punished* or the *Golden Dream*, the popular scene of the heavens at midnight was given—A young lad from Kerry acted the *Night*—with a few twinklings, he was dark enough, respectably gloomy, and decorously nocturnal. The allegorical personage of *Silence*, accompanied him, represented by a Dutch performer (his first performance in that character) Mr. *Van de Lure*—he sustained the part tolerably well, having uttered but one monosyllable, and that very badly.—*Old Toler* was sung by the performer who used to do justice to it; but he seemed out of tune, and ill at ease, and complained bitterly of the accompaniment.—A performer from Woodlawn, astonished the house by a *pas de deux*; he was great in the *entrechange*, and the more he danced, the more he could do. If the entertainment had lasted long enough, it is thought he would have cut six. If these remarks on the performance are liked, you shall have more hereafter, from a

SPECTATOR.

P. S. I find the performer who played *St. George*, tho' his endeavours could not save the piece, has been rewarded as the prime instrument in supporting it.

THE following Note was found on the Black-Rock road; it is supposed to have dropped from the writer's pocket, during a certain tottering in that quarter, last Tuesday se'nnight.

To Mr. John Bull.

SIR,

GIVE me leave to tell you, that your coachman *Billy*, gets so tipsy, and drives such miserable and vicious hacks in this town, that the *Royal George* is in danger of being overset. A calamity which all honest men would deeply lament. His drag chain is so badly tempered, it must soon break—and he can't get any Bar Iron here

for his purpose. He whips furiously sometimes—neglects calling at *Pester*-place for his *way-bill*—and is remarkably saucy along thro' *Clare*-street. In short his *course* is *unequal, wild and dangerous*, the whole road to and from *Bray-head*.

I am, Sir,
Your well-wisher and friendly Monitor, &c.

PADDY FINGERPOST.

NAUTICAL INTELLIGENCE.

ON Friday, the 25th of January, at half an hour past six in the morning, was lost at the entrance of Dublin Harbour, the armed cutter, *The Union*, Capt. PITT. She struck on the *Bar*, on the 22d, and was at that time saved by the extraordinary force of *one man* only; but was dashed to pieces under *Ireland's Eye*, on the 25th.—The Captain himself was not on board; but she was commanded by a *Master and Commander*, who was a very *young Master* indeed; and she was bulged by some sharp rocks which were not discovered, owing to the *young Master's* being out in his *soundings*. But what contributed much to the loss of the vessel, was the imprudence of superceding, in the midst of the storm, some of the oldest and ablest navigators, and putting incapable young officers in their place. The *old Pilot*, who had long been in the government service, and had rendered great services, not only to the state, but to the trade and navigation of the country, was displaced; and he was succeeded in his station by a *fore-mast man*, whom the crew in their resentment, conceived to be a *pragmatical, shallow, presumptuous* young fellow. The *old Pilot* was a blunt, sturdy tar; faithful, capable, and loved by the crew. He knew well the Harbour of Dublin, and was perfectly acquainted with every part of the coast. He had repeatedly told the Captain, before the voyage, "That the current was against him, and that there was no *safe-lying*, or *good anchorage* for that vessel, in any part of Ireland; not even in the *Harbour of Cork*, if there should come a storm." He told him also, "That the *People of this country* would not suffer the cargo to be landed, as it contained some *articles* of the *growth & produce* of the *Ottoman empire*, which could not fail to introduce the miseries of a *plague* into this kingdom, & that, although the vessel had performed a *long quarantine* in *Scotland*, yet the *articles* still retained their poisonous infection—for this counsel he was dismissed, although his forewarnings were fulfilled. It is however fair to say that this old pilot had his faults: he had a bluntness in his manner and negligence in his dress unpardonable in a sailor;—his manner was such, that he would not flatter his betters; and as to his dress! he has been seen

on state days and sundays, when he wore a *gold epaulet*, with a soiled waistcoat and torn trowsers. These gross faults have, it is true, been eminently corrected by the defacacy and refinement of his successor. One instance more of the policy of *changing the hands on Board!* The orderly *serjeant of marines* (an excellent soldier) was cashiered, because he expressed a reluctance to *enter the lists* against his country; and it is well known that many of the crew, who worked the ship, would have been glad to have it wrecked provided they could save themselves. The captain in England has since declared, he would have this vessel repaired in *Plymouth-dock*—but we hear a *Scotch workman* has been sent over to assure him, that she has *gone to pieces and cannot be repaired*.

Scribimus dōcti indoctique.

BOOKS lately published in this city, and to be had at all the circulating libraries:

Essays on various subjects, particularly one upon each of the following, viz. The Ready better than Respect. Method of obtaining Contempt, *virtute offitii*. Place without Practice. Hatred may be held by Grand Serjeantry. St. George for England. Every Man may sell himself to Advantage. Public Injuries private Gain. Honour or Honesty, not worth 2,000l. per Annum, &c. &c. &c. By a Barrister.

A new Art of Speaking; in which it is demonstrated that Parliamentary, (and it is hoped Bar) Oratory, may be acquired in despite of Nature, or that by proper management, a Person may have all the profits of both, without possessing either. By the same.

A Parody on "Oh dear what can the matter be."—By the two Lords C———. The Fruits of Ignorance, Vanity, and Perfidy. A Dialogue between an Old Minister, and a Young Secretary, partly in Prose, and partly in *Blank Verse*. This Work was not intended for the Public. By a Noble Lord.

The Paradox; or, 106 more by 50 than 111. A Demonstration for the use of the Minister. By the same.

Who's the Dupe? and Who's to Blame? Two Farces, written by the same.

Improvements in the Management of the Nursery, as practised in the Author's own Family. By the same.

Several Treatises, shewing that the Game of Cook, Cook, is no Children's Play. By various Hands.

New Tables of Simple Interest, for individual Use. To which is now added, a Practical Essay on the Management of New-Rye. By a Financier.

Who's Afraid? or, I don't care a —— for you. An Irish Comedy, done into English. By Sir J. P.

F.

\$!\$ In the press, and speedily will be published, the *Scot's Union*, by Daniel De Foe; and the *Irish Union*, by Daniel De Funct.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1799.

No. XVIII.

ADVICE

TO

YOUNG MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

AS many of you have not yet had time to take your seats, since the dismissal of your predecessors on the question of an Union, it occurred to me that I could not better employ myself, *now that the nation has nothing to agitate or distract it*, than by giving you some instructions as to your conduct both in and out of the House. The rules I shall lay down are simple and easy; and are such as I have uniformly followed myself, with what success, you can judge. And first, as to your *entrée* into the House: Be particular who the members are that introduce you; they are your political sponsors, that must answer for your future faith; "Tell me whom you live with, and I will tell you what you are," is an adage as true as it is common. The first impression of your virtue and abilities, will be received from your early companions; and first impressions are seldom effaced. Be careful, therefore, that they are men whose versatility of mind, and accommodating dispositions, qualify them to fill every situation, from the highest, to the very lowest. You will thus get credit for promising to be a very useful character.

On your first introduction, it will be necessary to bow to the chair. As *manner* often supplies the place of *matter*, this ought to be done with a grace. It will be the more necessary, as no doubt you are disposed to follow Sir Archy Mac Sarcasm's excellent advice, "still to keep bowing," and "never to stand upright in the presence of a great man." It will be proper, therefore, to take some lessons from a dancing master; especially if you have never learnt before. Not that I should wish you to study the *science* profoundly. As far as it will be useful to you in your present situation, you will acquire it by degrees; the attendance, for instance, which you will dance at the Castle, must be done in a *finik* pace, which you will naturally fall into; and as to the common movements of *cross over*, *change sides*, &c. you will have an opportunity of seeing these done with astonishing celerity and ease, (not to *trench* upon the merits of any other professor) by one of the first masters. Should you be an admirer of *French steps*, the Secretary will soon teach you a few. He lately astonished every body by his *contresens*, and he will shortly, it is expected, shew you a *chassé*, in an elegant *pas de deux*, which

he is expected to perform along with his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the great delight of all spectators.

When you have taken the oaths, and are completely installed in your office, do not look around like a booby, as if at a loss where to place yourself. Nothing gives a meaner opinion of a man's understanding, than a wavering, undecided conduct. Determine, therefore, at once; and having done so, *invariably* adhere to that determination. By thus evincing that you come into Parliament to act, and not to deliberate, and that you have already made up your mind upon every subject which can by possibility arise, you will convince the world of the great range of your understanding, and secure yourself from all imputation of improper motives, which occasionally changing sides might give rise to. In point of accommodation, there is little difference between the sides of the House. The right hand being always the most worthy, the Bench on the right of the chair, is, (if you look for honors) the most honorable. Besides it is probable you will be less crowded there. It is true, this will bring you into contact with his Majesty's Ministers, who *generally* sit on that Bench; this, however, when fairly considered, is not so great an objection, as might at first appear; for tho' it is an old and a true saying, "if you handle dirt you will soil your fingers," yet still they are his Majesty's confidential servants, and "love me, love my dog," (to say nothing of the *bone* which that dog has in his mouth) a saying no less estimable.

Both in and out of the House, be careful to convince the world by your manner, that you always bear in mind the high situation you fill—that you are aware of the great purpose for which you were appointed—that you can account for the necessity of such an appointment, and that you are fully sensible of the particular reasons why you, of all others, should be pitched on for the important office—evince your consciousness, therefore, that you are a member of the highest assembly in the nation—that you are appointed not only to *act*, but to *think*, for the people—that the necessity of such an appointment arises from the *utter incapacity* of the people to *act* or *think* for themselves—and that you were chosen, because in you are concentrated all the talents, wisdom, and virtue, of the district you profess to represent. Be careful on all occasions to manifest the high sense you have of your own intellectual powers—besides the imposing air of sublimity this will give to your whole demeanour, it will pay a flattering compliment to those who appointed you, by convincing them that in your sincere opinion, they displayed great good sense and discrimination in the choice.

Never take advice, especially from those who, in vulgar language, are called your constituents; not even where their individual interests are exclusively concerned, or where the subject falls peculiarly within their knowledge. To receive advice, is to acknowledge that you can possibly stand in need of instruction, and that there is some information which you are yet to acquire. Nothing can be more derogatory from your dignity than this, even where you cannot be expected to know much; and indeed the less you are expected to know, the higher opinion will be entertained of the knowledge you possess, which will then be looked upon as intuitive—besides, nothing evinces a man's spirit more than his acting in direct opposition to the line of his duty, especially when that duty is suggested by those who may claim a right to advise.

The power of parliament has, within these few days, become almost proverbial—all things are, at present, possible to it; you must therefore stoutly maintain the omnipotence of parliament on all proper occasions—I say on all proper occasions, for it is a two-edged weapon, which requires to be handled with dexterity—and here I must caution you against falling into a mistake natural to young men without a knowledge of the world. The “omnipotence,” the “wisdom,” the “virtue,” the “independence,” and such like of parliament, are not to be received by you absolutely, and without qualification; on the contrary, as a late learned judge once observed, when endeavouring to reconcile a suitor in his court to the names—“rogue, rascal and knave,” which had been liberally dealt out to him by counsel on the opposite side: “These terms are only to be understood *secundam subjectam materiam*.” For instance, should any measure of reform be introduced, such as a bill for excluding revenue officers from parliament, deny the competency of parliament to make laws which would exclude any particular individuals from the House of Commons, and partially disfranchise their constituents, by fettering that choice which ought to be free; maintain too, on such occasions, the great virtue, the proud spirit, the exalted sense of independence of parliament, which render such a measure unnecessary; express your detestation of that man who would dare with sacrilegious hands to touch a stone of that venerable pile, under whose shelter “this nation has experienced unexampled prosperity,” and that too at a season when the best constructed governments in Europe have fallen before the fury of a hurricane; but should it be attempted not partially, but locally, to disfranchise the electors of Ireland, not merely to fetter their choice, but to deprive them of all choice; not to reform the parliament, but to extinguish it for ever; not to modify the legislature, but to surrender the legislation to the crown, or to transfer it to a foreign nation, and this not merely without the assent, but against the will of the people; then maintain the omnipotence of parliament in all its plenitude, vilify its past conduct, blazon its corruption, and laugh at its independence; and whilst you

maintain the incapacity of the nation to manage its own internal concerns, insist on the prudence and propriety of transferring the right to strangers, who, being indifferent to its interests, can discuss them with more coolness, nor dread the imputation of inconsistency in maintaining that that assembly which is inadequate to the common purposes of internal regulation, is competent to determine the greatest of all possible imperial questions; or that that body which is so dependant and so corrupt as to render it imprudent and unsafe to intrust it with the power of legislating for Ireland, should yet be invested with the right to transfer that power to others, and intrusted to adjust the terms of the transfer with that nation on which it is so dependent, and by which it has been so corrupted. These little inconsistencies are among those eccentricities of mind which distinguish the man of genius from the practical plodder, who never sees an object without noting all its bearings and distances.

Should you be of the profession of the Bar, you will not want frequent opportunities of distinguishing yourself; at no period did great constitutional questions occur so frequently, and on those you will be expected and prepared to speak—the more repugnant the side you maintain is to common vulgar ideas of liberty, or the constitution, the finer field will you have for the exercise of your ingenuity; and whatever effects your eloquence may have on others, it will, at least, convince your party that you will go any length to serve them; for which, no doubt, they will shew their gratitude. Be sure on these occasions always to begin your speech by saying something of yourself, it is a subject in which the world must be deeply interested—describe your situation in life as independent—assert the utmost purity of motives, and profess to speak the honest dictates of an unbiassed conscience; this will convince your party that you have prudence enough to keep their secret and your own. Should your past conduct, or present situation be such that ordinary assertions of independence will not be attended to, I have no objection to an appeal to heaven, provided it be made in a solemn and impressive manner. These little rhetorical flourishes are very allowable, and have often a pretty effect in a speech which would otherwise contain nothing to excite or keep up attention, and therefore they ought to be introduced when the yawning of those about you, or the coughing on the other side, proclaim *ennui*, or disgust.

When any measure is attempted by your party, destructive of the rights of the people, endeavour to find a precedent for it, in the proceedings either of our own, or of some foreign parliament—no matter if you should have to go so far back as the reign of Edward 3. in search of it. There is nothing so consolatory to a suffering mind as the reflections that others have suffered before by the same means, and as the parliaments of this and the neighbouring kingdoms have passed through every intermediate stage between the most abject servitude

ty, and their present plenitude of power, it cannot be difficult to find such a precedent in favour of any measure. If, for instance, a legislative incorporation of the two kingdoms should be before the house, the Scotch Union in 1707 presents an example worthy to be followed by an Irish parliament in 1799. Let not the difference in the constitutions of the two kingdoms shock, as it might, your understanding: a parliament is a parliament all the world over, no matter how constituted or of whom composed, nor let the time, the place, the situation of the country, or any such trifling circumstance, induce you to withhold so excellent a precedent. "Expedient" and "prudent" are abstract terms, which have no relation to existing circumstances, and therefore, what is expedient and precedent at one time, in one place, or in one situation, must be so in all. Neither let the manner in which the Scotch Union was affected, viz. by fraud and force, weigh with you—the precedent may not be the less in point on that account. To this you may add the authority of great constitutional writers: I must caution you, however, that this is dangerous ground to go on, for unless they are garbled with judgment, they may make against you. Sir Wm. Blackstone has been often quoted, and with prudent management may be made something of; for instance, when in vol. 1st, page 162, he says, "*So long as the constitution lasts we may venture to affirm that the power of parliament is absolute and without controul.*" You have only to omit the words, "so long as the constitution lasts," which could seem to insinuate that the power of parliament must determine with the constitution on which it depends, and reject the words "we may venture to affirm," which, imply a doubt, and then you will have the sentence thus—"the power of parliament is absolute and without controul," which will completely serve your purpose. Some I know may be inclined to adduce as an authority the revolution in 1688, but I am utterly against the most distant allusion to that great event. In the first place, the word "revolution" would shock loyal minds, and then it would be argued, (for there are always men inclined to put every thing in the worst light) that if you admit that to have been a revolution which did not alter the constitution in a single tittle, but merely changed the person exercising one of the branches of it, by what name will you call an act which causes the total destruction of the other two? Besides James was dethroned for "*having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract*" made with the people. He was deposed by the nation—for after he had abdicated the government, there was then no parliament—and therefore, Sir Wm. Blackstone says, vol. 1st, page 211, that "it was the act of the nation alone," for, says he, page 212, "whenever a question arises between the society at large, and any magistrate vested with powers originally delegated by that society, it must be decided by the society itself." Add to this, that many might be induced to look into the English commons' journals about that time, in which the principles of Locke are

made the foundation of their proceedings; principles which they might be disposed to think were expressly confined by the act of settlement, and of which they might consider every act of parliament made since as containing a virtual recognition. I would, therefore, by all means, have you to avoid so dangerous a subject with respect to arguments drawn from the conduct of individuals, I do not think much of them. People seem tired of hearing of Lord Somers both in and out of the house; they are not inclined to pin their political faith on any one man's sleeve; and am I much afraid they do not see the analogy as clearly as they ought, between an Englishman endeavouring to exalt his own country, and an Irishman contriving to debase his. Besides this would introduce a spirit of argument, which may prove by no means favourable, viz. the inferring the nature of the act from the character of the actor; and therefore, when it is asked, "would Lord Somers have prepared the articles of Union if he had not thought it a constitutional act?" The opposite party may ask, "would Pitt have the Union with Ireland so much at heart if he did not think it would contribute to his own aggrandizement, and open a source of revenue—would the English nation desire it if they did not think they would gain by the change?" But there is one line of argument which I recommend, as it has never been taken yet: many have adopted old prejudices which they have not yet been able to get rid of, such as, that parliament is an emanation from the people—that its power is a mere delegated trust, which it must exercise upon the terms on which it was given, and for the benefit of those by whom, and for whom it was so given—that to give parliament a right of destroying any branch of the constitution, a right which it denies to the people themselves, is to render the creature more powerful than the creator. Now, as they are in general very good sort of people who entertain these absurd notions, and whose feelings one would not wish to revolt; when these things are advanced, do not directly contradict them, but argue from them in favour of the side you support; thus, when it is said, that by destroying parliament you extinguish Ireland as a nation: It is admitted that Ireland owes its existence as a nation to parliament, and therefore it follows necessarily that parliament creates the nation, and not the nation parliament; otherwise when parliament had abdicated its functions, there would be nothing to prevent the nation, if it survived, from choosing another parliament. Keep this stone in your sleeve for them until the question is again started. Not a word, Sir Boyle Roche has not yet got hold of it.

Another rule which I would lay down for your conduct is one which, perhaps, you may feel some difficulty in prevailing on yourself to follow, but which I have always looked upon in so important a point of view, that I cannot help thinking it ought to be the governing principle of a young member of parliament—whatever you may be offered as a return for your past, or earnest for your future support, do not refuse it; it

will convince the world that you are thought of consequence enough to be worth gaining over, and that you are possessed of virtue enough not to act the knave—without temptation. If you are offered money therefore, pocket it and say no more. If a place, be it ever so small, do not reject it; the name of a place-man gives consequence with the vulgar; besides it is still a step; and should you at any time wish for something higher, you will be sure to find some nobleman who wishes to provide for a superannuated servant, or poor relation, and who will assist in giving you a shove for his own sake.

Attach yourself to some great man; praise him in all companies; and if he is attacked, seem to look upon yourself as his liege-man, bound by *tenure* to defend him against his enemies; this will not fail to come to his ears. In the house take every opportunity of speaking to him; the people in the gallery will remark this intimacy, and will conclude, when he is making some observation on the weather, that he is consulting you about the business of the day; this will not fail to raise you in their estimation. When your patron speaks, be sure to cry “hear”—whenever you observe from his manner that he *thinks* he is saying a good thing; this will have a double effect; it will at once flatter his vanity, and prevent the other side from hearing, and of course from answering what has been said. Should he at any time falter, or be at a loss for a word, be particularly vociferous; this will give him time to recollect himself, and must be wonderfully gratifying, as it will convince him you are disposed to give him credit for a good thing before he utters it. Your parliamentary *bottle-holders* are of infinite use. Should your patron or indeed any other very great man, ask you to dine, be sure not to refuse, but give up every other engagement; you will be amply repaid for the conscious inferiority you will feel there by the superior consequence it will give you with your equals. When in company with the latter talk of Lord C—, Lord B—, as if they were your most intimate companions; and when repeating any thing which you may have overheard one great man say to another, take care to let it be thought that it was particularly addressed to you. If any intended measure of government is talked of, of which you know nothing but from the newspapers, look wise and mysterious—observe that “the accounts in circulation are very erroneous”—that “the thing is not generally known”—that “it is merely whispered at the castle.” And if another ventures to talk on the subject smile at him contemptuously, and shrug your shoulders; by these means you will get credit for all the knowledge of a cabinet counsellor.

There are many other rules which I could lay down for your conduct, but these are enough for the present. By following them implicitly, I have little doubt of your being able to raise yourself in time to that proud situation which I now enjoy—that of

AN OLD HACK.

REVIEW of pictures in the exhibition lately opened in College-green.

No. I. St. George fighting St. Patrick—This is a good painting; the figure of St. Patrick highly spirited, but the attitude of St. George not perfectly correct. The drapery and armour ridiculously modern, and the *costume* absurdly violated; so that St. George has nothing of the champion about him, but the name; the painter has seized the point of time when St. Patrick has had the best of it, and his adversary has retired to *prime*.

No. II. Two groupes, (each 105) vying to get over a *Trench* which *lies* between them. A figure strongly resembling R. A—d—ll, Esq; appears to have just accomplished it by a *bounce*.

No. III. A portrait of Lord Castlereagh mourning over the loss of a friend who was convinced in the late debate. He holds in his hand a satire of Horace, set to music, *Hoc erat in votis*; and appears to sing it to a plaintive air. A translation lies on the floor beginning thus—*Shepherds I have lost a vote*.

No. IV. A groupe of Dutch merchants at Japan, purchasing commercial privileges, by trampling upon the cross.

No. V. The companion of the former. The D'oyér Hundred of Cork, signing an Address for the Union. There is much *interest* in these pieces, but very little *spirit*. They evidently are of the same school.

CHEAP DRESSING—suggested to a Lawyer, of great WEIGHT, who reminds us of promotion, and the WOOLSACK.

YOUR GOWN you receiv'd at the Minister's hands,
'Cause you strove to supply the whole nation with BANDS,
Buy nought but a WIG—for your tongue you so wag,
Attornies and Clients will GIVE YOU THE BAG.
SOLOMON SHAVER

S L A V E T R A D E .

TO be sold one hundred and four Negroes, perfectly qualified for any servile work. They are of a very fine colour, being jet black from head to foot, as has been pronounced on a late inspection. As they are, however, unsound in constitution, they will be sold cheap. Application to be made to their Master, at Downing-street, or to the Driver, at the corner of the Upper Castle Yard.

N. B. It is expected that they may thrive when removed to any foreign island, as they are observed to have had no attachment to their native country, and therefore it is not to be apprehended that they will pine away after it, as African Slaves do usually.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2S.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1799.

No. XIX.

TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF IRELAND.

*Utunque ferent ea facta minores
Vincet amor patriæ.*

GENTLEMEN,

AS you have displayed a virtue seldom paralleled, to do you stand in a situation altogether without precedent. For the first time in the history of the empire has the vote of parliament been deemed a dead letter, and its voice a *brutum fulmen*. For the first time has a minister confronted the House of Commons in the very moment of his defeat, and declared a resolution to persevere in a measure fresh branded by their reprobation. I speak not of the shameless and abandoned effrontery of the boy; the present time is too precious to waste upon an unworthy individual, and public indignation should not be thrown away upon an object appropriated by contempt. But I speak of the constitutional novelty, and I exhort you to survey with steady and studious attention the political phenomenon of a government, stabilitating its projects upon the disapprobation of Parliament. Hitherto the courtesy of the constitution has considered a ministerial majority as speaking the sense of parliament; and by a construction which has been submitted to, even when it has been murmured at, such has been called the voice of the people. Even this has been limited by the decency of former days; and the minister who found himself supported by a *mere majority*, has uniformly required. But the gradual relaxation of modern politics has, since the administration of Mr. Pitt, restrained the old fashioned principle; and the greatest moderation which the people have been warranted of late to expect from the minister, is that he would abandon a particular measure when he found he was not able to carry it. Much was expected from the youthful patriotism of Lord Castlereagh, and it was very little doubted by those who knew him, that if he had but a majority of *one*, he was too constitutional not to act upon it. But his Lordship has gone further—he has outstripped expectation—he has discovered a new principle, and revealed a new system in politics. He is the first minister who, in the same moment that he was left in a minority, had the spirit to address the House of Commons in this remarkable language—*I will persevere in the measure which you have rejected*. He is the first minister who has displaced the servants of the crown because they voted with the majority in parliament. He may claim all the discretion of exhibiting to an irritated people in an inflammable moment, the provoking spectacle of the executive

committed with the representative. These certainly are novelties justly reserved for an age of wonders, and appropriately allotted to an age of revolutions. Such events were never foreseen by the simplicity of our ancestors; and were the shades of Sir Robert Walpole and Lord North to return upon earth, they would listen to the tale with fastidious incredulity.

While I hold up these things to your astonishment, I do not intend to excite that *mute wonder*, which the modest minister will not fail to tell you is *involuntary praise*. I trust you will peruse with attention the instructive page which he has opened, and I hope that your comment may be practical. Let these facts open your eyes at once to the nature of that measure which the minister says you have in vain rejected. Read Lord Castlereagh's conduct, and Mr. Pitt's speech together, and learn from these faithful documents what an Union is.

The veil is honestly withdrawn; it is no longer pretended that an Union is made necessary by our recent calamities, or recommended by commercial advantages; we are called away by the minister at once from all those amusing and instructive speculations in which we have indulged upon this interesting subject. How it is to bear upon our religious distinctions—how it might affect our trade, were good topics for pamphlets and for speeches—they might *point a moral, or adorn a tale*. Even Mr. Cooke's ingenuity has become obsolete, and it is no longer necessary for the Castle to demonstrate that an Union, like a nostrum, is good for all disorders. Ever since the D'Oyer Hundred addressed, it has been forgotten that Cork might have been benefited by the injuries of Ireland; all abstract discussions, and practical calculations, are at an end. Mr. Pitt has simplified the question, has brought it to a point, and wit and argument and self-interest may repose. Not to meet temporary inconvenience, but to counteract permanent mischief, is an Union intended. *To reclaim the BARBARISM of Ireland—to improve the UNDERSTANDINGS of the Irish—to put an end to a parliament, which from radical defect of constitution CANNOT SERVE THE COUNTRY—and to expunge every trace of that measure, the CHILDISH MEASURE, of the independence of the parliament of Ireland.** These are the objects of an Union—these are the projects, and this is the language of the minister. You are at once at issue with him, whether you will give him your constitution or not. Gentlemen, I feel a reverence for you which could be little understood by the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary, and in the spirit of that feeling, I forbear to insult your understandings (*all barbarous as they are*) by com-

* Vide Mr. Pitt's Speech.

menting upon this insolent attack. If I thought that the spirit of the Irish House of Commons required to be roused to a sense of its insulted and outraged dignity, I should not harbour a wish for its existence, but should hasten the accomplishment of its ruin, and rejoice with Mr. Pitt in the overthrow of a parliament *radically incapable of serving my country.*

Observe the conduct of the Irish, walking hand in hand with the language of the English minister—Observe nearly two thirds of the counties of Ireland and most of the principal cities, declaring explicitly against this innovation—the cry of the public dissatisfaction hourly swelling, the metropolis unanimous, and the disinterested D'Oyer Hundred of Cork confirming a general sentiment by its solitary exception:—this universal feeling sanctioned within your walls, and the voice of the Irish parliament, echoing the voice of the Irish people, and all this, slighted and contemned, audaciously defied by Mr. Pitt, and frigidly disregarded by his deputy.

There is more in the picture of the present moment worthy of your attention:—If government have interfered to crush the expression of the public opinion—If a letter has been written from the Castle to procure the suppression of a constitutional meeting of electors in one place—If in another, a General of a district has publicly prohibited a similar meeting upon pain of dispersion by the soldiery—If these things have happened, (*and they have happened,*) you will be naturally induced to enquire further into the situation of your country.—It may no longer perhaps be a matter of curiosity and conjecture that every packet which announces the pertinacity of the defeated minister, announces at the same time the march of fresh troops for Ireland, and that at the close of the rebellion, we are astonished by the rapid influx of those succours whose tardy approaches we lamented in the commencement of it. When all these things are considered, smaller matters will cease to surprise. It will then be nothing but consistency that a government print in England should have published a gross, false, and libellous, misstatement of the proceedings of the Irish parliament, and have represented your victory over the enemy of your country, as the tumultuous and disorderly triumph of intemperate faction, and whether this slander shall have been invented in London, or transmitted from the Castle, whether the English minister fabricated it to deceive the English nation, or the Irish secretary to excuse himself to his master, it will equally harmonize with the remainder of the picture.*

* *Extracted from the Sun of the 28th of January, 1799.*

“A more disorderly debate scarcely ever, we believe, took place in any of the *Assemblies of France* since the beginning of the Revolution, than in the *Irish House of Commons* on the question respecting the Union. The speeches of those who were in favour of the measure were received with *hisses and groans*, and those who were adverse were cheered with the *plaudits and hurra's* not only of the *Members*, but of the *galleries*. The *tribunes* of the *French Assemblies* perhaps never interferred in a manner more likely to influence the deliberation, than

I acknowledge however, that in this system, one thing astonishes me, and I can attribute to nothing but to Lord Castlereagh's constitutional decorum, that wish to preserve appearances which induces him to exert ministerial ingenuity in order to procure a *minority in parliament*. I candidly set this down to his patriotism, and when I see the violence of his measures thinning the treasury bench, I console myself by observing that his public spirit recruits it. When I see a legal preferment given to a barrister without professional business, under the auspices of a political Lord Chancellor, and a Colonelcy of Militia refused to an old soldier, and given to a lubberly country gentleman in the administration of a *Martinet*, I hail with much satisfaction the only symptoms which the secretary has betrayed of any regard for the opinion of the House of Commons.

Gentlemen, in such a crisis, *what is to be done?* I presume not to advise that wisdom, or to stimulate that public spirit, which have so recently distinguished themselves. I do not intend to weary you with arguments against this abominable measure which you so lately have reprobated—you are sensible of its mischiefs already. You have *proved* that if Ireland loses her House of Commons she will lose her friends. You know that a military government must be substituted in exchange, and that the men who have argued that Ireland may be made another Yorkshire, and is sufficiently proximate to England for a common legislative, admit that it is sufficiently distinct for a separate and deputed executive. You know what a military government is, even with a parliament, and I trust we never shall experience what it is without one. You are conscious of the absurdity upon the face of this proposition—that the Irish gentry, in order to acquire a capability of serving their country, must remove four hundred miles from it. You see plainly that this is with the minister a desperate measure of finance and revenge—that in his own speech he states it openly to be revenge for our counteraction of his propositions in 1785, and of his regency politics in 1789, and that in the King's message the financial bait was thrown out to the English, which had been artfully hid from the Irish parliament, that it was a measure to *augment and consolidate the resources of the British empire*. You have already perceived how this project would overstride the British Constitution, and open a broad approach for that despotism, which has so long gradually advanced upon it.

the strangers upon this occasion are said to have done. The most opprobrious language was held by some of the opponents to the measure towards its supporters, and it is a fact, that many of the latter left the House, not chusing to remain in so tumultuous an assembly.”

I add another and striking instance of the professed and systematic contempt of the feelings of Ireland upon which Government has grounded this measure. On Friday the 18th January, 1799, four days before the debate on the Address, when the Castle was flushed with success, rashly anticipated, a ministerial paper, called the *Hibernian Telegraph*, notoriously conducted by an English Secretary, openly labelled the memory of the Volunteers, and informed the public that in the year 1782 the *Irish parliament* acted under the influence of an armed and illegitimate BANDIT.

You have not shut your eyes upon this simple consequence of the measure, that tho' the countries are nominally and metaphysically united, they will continue naturally distinct, and that when the Irish militia have marched into England, and the English into Ireland, as into contiguous countries, the king will have, to all practical purposes, a standing army in both countries. All these, and many more topics, upon the subject of an Union, have been already elaborately and ably discussed, both within and without your walls, and nothing remains for me, but to suggest, that by an Union, Ireland will lose *the good friend*, whom once lost, she can never recover. I speak of a friend from whom she has derived all the blessings she at present enjoys, and, I trust, will derive more. Permit me to recommend to your attention, that friend of my country—

A SHORT MONEY-BILL;

that is the friend to whom we owe our Mutiny Bill, our Oaken Bill, our Free Trade, and our Free Constitution; you that are old enough to remember this country since Lord Townsend's time, well know that I do not overvalue this friend to Ireland. This is the only friend who can serve us, when a Minister seeks to out-vote us, by a minority. This is the friend who achieved that measure, (I use the words of Mr. Pitt) that *childish* measure, the independence of Ireland, which in the year 1782, her Parliament and her People pledged themselves to yield but with their lives.

I have the honor to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very devoted humble Servant,

HINT.

MR. HANDY, of the Royal Circus, Foster-place, feels himself bound to apologize to a liberal public for the failure of his late performance, which had excited so much expectation. It was entirely owing to want of management and training, that so many of the cattle ran restive, ran out of the course, kicked, started, plunged, and took the stud. He intends that they shall be better backed the next time, and has sent to England for a *Pelham* bit, which it is expected will fit the hardest mouths. The *Cunnemara* poney that was rode in the *Martin-gale*, will run against time from the Circus to the *Custom-house*, and back again to the *House of Lords*, carrying a feather. Play or pay.

the scenes will be the following, viz. A view of a splendid and populous city, which will change into a mean fishing-town. A beautiful view of a rich country, interspersed with mills, and manufacturers at work, terminated by the sea, covered with shipping, which will suddenly change into a wild and uninhabited desert. A view of a spacious plain, with several parties of tax-gatherers, &c. travelling across it in all directions, attended by bodies of troops, in English uniforms, and representing the naked natives, now flying from, and now skirmishing with them; affording altogether, a very interesting spectacle. A view of an harbour, with a vessel at anchor, and crowds of people hurrying on board with their families, effects, &c. &c.; the distress of those left behind, expressed most admirably; and to the life; with many others not less picturesque. The whole to conclude with a grand emblematic transparency; of a lion playing on a harp, but having overstrained and broken the strings with his claws, it falls from him. His vain, tho' desperate attempts to recover it, are exquisitely portrayed. The scenes all to be prepared in England, from plans designed in London, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, &c. &c. and will be faithfully executed (if possible) under the direction of the English managers, who have been at unceasing pains, and enormous expence already, and will spare neither, in future, to have them accurately got up here. During the performance, Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, set to music, and adapted to the harp, will be given.

N. B. The Managers having been compelled to postpone the bringing forward the above representation for some time, acquaint the public however, that they are determined to have it exhibited as soon as possible.

F.

SERGEANT-MAJOR BLABBER, lately arrived from the city of Galway, having discovered, by a curious process, (for which he has lately obtained his Majesty's Patent) a mode of conveying sounds from without doors, very audibly, into great public buildings, after the manner of the whispering gallery, offers his services to all Ministers, Mayors, Aldermen of Police, &c. to whom the said invention may prove to be of the utmost utility. He is to be heard of at *Daly's Coffee-house*.

SONG.

Tune—Derry Down.

NOW in preparation for exhibition, at the National Theatre, a dramatic romance, entirely new; in which will be introduced, an astonishing variety of the most striking scenery, deceptions, and changes. Among

BILLY PITT t'other day says to Master Jack Bull,
Dear Johnny, my brain of a project is full,
I will get you a damsel that's buxom and fresh,
To make bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh.

II.

Johnny held down his head, and look'd like a fool;
Dear Billy your word to me is a rule;
And as to a marriage, I'm willing to try it—
Provided you shew me what can be made by it.

III.

For you know 'tis a maxim I've held thro' my life,
Whether buying a house, a horse, or a wife;
I strive to steer clear of being counted a blockhead,
By putting the most that I can in my pocket.

IV.

An Union for riches, quoth Will, there's no sin in—
And the wench that I mean has got great store of linen,
Of beef, pork and butter, and such stout usquebaugh,
As will make you sing merrily, *Erin go bragh.*

V.

Says John, my dear Billy, I'm perfectly sure,
To a marriage this damsel I ne'er can allure;
One wife, the world says, would be too much for you,
And pray, Billy Pitt, how can I manage two.

VI.

To humbug Scotch Peg, in the days of Queen Nancy,
By fraud and by bribery, I thus pleas'd my fancy;
But to bigamy now has the law put a check;
So I hope, my dear Sir, you won't hazard my neck.

Derry down, &c.

A VILLAGE, on Vesuvius' side,
Had long escaped the boiling tide;
But Vulcan comes, in dire array!
His rosy-ropes the God betray,
And red-wing'd Gnomes, that round him play.

When wond'rous! from a hamlet near,
Was heard a voice unaw'd by fear:
"When Night o'er-spreads her sombre shades
Bright shines the Moon, as Phœbus fades;
"And thus, when fate yon town o'erwhelms,
"We shall alone illumine these realms."

But ah! the Muse's annals say,
They'd scar'd Minerva's bird away;
Their souls were more with commerce fraught,
Than with the wide encircling thought;
They careless gazed, and heard the crash,
The thunders roar, the lightnings flash,
And the rude fiery breakers dash;
While dread combustion shakes the ground,
And the rent-steeple reels around:
Now Nature makes an awful pause!
Now—Earthquake opens her pond'rous jaws!
But let me pass the horrors by,
Of ev'ry sinking victim's cry!
For oh! beneath the neighb'ring plain,
Was laid the same sulphureous train!
And Fate the baneful circle drew,
Around the luckless hamlet too!

Thus CORK, awhile might stand her ground,
While mould'ring cities sink around;
But soon a like convulsive shock,
Should cause her lofty domes to rock,
And Fortune totter from her shrine,
While jealous Vulcan springs the mine.

Then, CORK, no more let phantoms lead,
Beneath Deception's twilight shade;
Oh! timely hear a warning call,
And mourn thyself, in DUBLIN's fall;
Beware the cypress on her grave!
And fly the willow-crown they weave!
For in the scented wreathes they strew,
The Snakes of Envy lurk for you!
As well my eyes might joy to see,
The gilded-pill that poisons me;
Unheedful, that my fading bloom
Involves them in a kindred tomb!

MENTOR.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 3D.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1799.

No. XX.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

AS the arguments from which the consequences of an Union to the commerce of this kingdom, are inferred by the writers on the different sides of the question, have led to opposite conclusions, so have they been very dissimilar in their nature. The reasoning of the advocate for the measure, consists entirely of conjecture and speculation; while his opponent professes to deduce his inferences from facts and the experience of mankind. The former foresees, or affects to foresee, that the necessary result of a Legislative Incorporation of the two countries, will be an oblivion of old jealousies, a generous participation of every advantage, political and commercial, individuality of feeling, and identity of interest. Thus, he reasons, the bounties of nature to this country, will be animated into exertion, and the transfer of capital and ingenuity from Britain, will give to this part of the future empire, that wealth, which, from its geographical position, the excellence of its harbours, the fertility of its soil, and the number of its inhabitants, it seems to have been destined by nature to possess. The reasoning of the latter, is, however, conducted in a different manner. He seems to avoid every inference which can only be drawn from a remote contingency; and rejecting arguments from possibilities as rash and fallacious, his enquiries seem to be entirely directed by a retrospect to past events. Guided in his investigation, by this mode of reasoning, when he looks into the history of these Islands, and sees, on the one hand, the oppression, amounting to extinguishment, which the commerce of this nation suffered, while it was subject to the controul or influence of England, and when, on the other hand, he beholds the rapid and unexampled progress with which it has advanced since its fetters were struck off, he is led to infer, that the commercial prosperity of Ireland is intimately connected with her Legislative Independence, and that British dominion or interference, must be deadly to its existence. This deduction claims to be warranted by experience in another respect. The pecuniary advantage which it is conjectured Ireland will obtain by this measure, is not such as one nation gains from reciprocal trade with another, because this not only is consistent with, but necessarily implies, mutual benefit. It is an acquisition, which presupposes proportional loss to the other parts of the empire. If the natural advantages of Ireland were

left to the improvement of her own people; although, in this particular, she could be no gainer by the measure, yet Britain could be no loser; and when to promise any benefit to Ireland, it is necessary to presume the transfer from Britain, of both capital and skill, the argument drawn from experience is again applied; and it is urged, that history furnishes no precedent of a commercial nation voluntarily encouraging the superior capabilities of a neighbouring commercial people, and generously giving them its blood, and the sinews of its strength, to increase their vigour.

In considering these two modes of reasoning, candor cannot refuse to admit, that in general the inference which, on political subjects, is suggested by facts and experience, is that which deserves adoption. The science of politics, is, in its nature, rather practical than abstract, and as it is best illustrated by experiments, it derives its chief support from history, which records the transactions of states, and furnishes examples apposite to occurring cases. In this point of view, it must be acknowledged that one plain, unequivocal, and applicable fact, in a political controversy, outweighs the most subtle and refined train of reasoning, which rests merely on speculation; or as the same idea is expressed in the Castle Pamphlet, page 28, "An argument from experience, in political reasoning, is superior to any argument in theory." If, therefore, the adversary of the measure of an Union, can shew by historical facts, and the testimony of political writers, unbiassed in favour of Ireland, that it is the character of all commercial nations, and of England in particular, to be tenacious even to illiberality, perhaps injustice, of their peculiar possessions; that the conduct of England towards Ireland, while the former derived from her own comparative strength, and the weakness of the latter, her only right of dominion, was in the greatest degree selfish and ungenerous; that the benefits which have been promised to Ireland, from an Union, cannot reasonably be expected, and that the people of England, who have ever thought on the subject, have uniformly considered that measure as conferring an exclusive, or superior benefit on their native country; and if, in opposition to these facts and testimonies, there be nothing relied on, but supposition and theory, it will not be difficult to determine on which side the argument will preponderate. It is my intention to produce to each of these points, one or two facts or authorities, which I am persuaded no man can dispute or deny.

The first of these topics I consider of importance only as one of the intermediate steps, which connect the

main subject with what, in my mind, amounts, to its demonstration; and I shall dismiss it with a short, but pointed quotation from Montesquieu: "The spirit of trade produces in the mind of man, a certain sense of exact justice, opposite, on the one hand, to robbery, and on the other, to those moral virtues, which forbid our always adhering rigidly to the rules of private interest, and suffer us to neglect this for the advantage of others." Sec. vol. Spir. of Laws, page 2. And in page 8: "The English are supremely jealous with respect to trade, and bind themselves but little by treaties, &c."

On the second topic, examples may be obtained in profusion, and I might content myself with alluding to the remarkable petition of some Englishmen, against the Irish, for fishing on their own coast, but I shall give two facts, and one testimony, which are not generally known. The first fact I take from Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, vol. 1. page 451. where he states, that altho' the free importation of the rude produce of the soil, can have no ill effect upon the agriculture of a country, and of all species of importation, that of lean cattle must be least disadvantageous to the importing country, yet such was the jealousy of England towards Ireland, that such a traffic was permitted but for a short time, altho' the trade was considered so destructive to Ireland, that it there occasioned mobbish opposition. The second fact I take from Postlethwaite's *Commercial Essays*, vol. 1. page 44. "The English think it better policy to suffer France to supplant them in the woollen trade, by means of manufacturing Irish wool, than suffer the Irish to rival them in the woollen manufacture, although subjects of the same Prince." The testimony I take from the same volume, page 196: "England has hitherto, at her own expence, maintained the balance of Europe, and it has cost Ireland scarce any thing; all that we have endeavoured is to starve her without expence."

The next topic is of such a kind, that an applicable fact cannot be expected; but I shall produce what is of at least equal weight, the acknowledgment of a very able English writer, on the direct point, in a treatise written on the very subject of an Incorporated Union of the two countries. It is to be observed that the advantages which it is imagined Ireland will derive from the measure, in commerce and manufactures, presuppose the transfer from England of capital and skill; of course, if these which are preliminary, cannot reasonably be expected, it would be absurd to look for the particular consequence. A tract written by Mr. Chalmers, forming a supplement to De Lolme, has two passages which furnish evidence both as to commerce and manufacture; as to the former, "The British merchant will never embark his capital in what he considers as a foreign country, the trade of which will not have sufficient attraction to induce him to renounce even in part the traffic with which he is well acquainted, and the profits which he hath long enjoyed. But he will be far less disposed to make his renuncia-

tion in favour of a species of traffic which he, probably, considers as interfering, to a degree of strenuous rivalry, with the proper commerce of his native country." As to manufactures, the same tract states—"that it has been demonstrated, and is a truth generally received, that a poor nation can never carry away from a rich one those manufactures, the cheapness of which depends chiefly on large capitals." It may be observed, that there is no manufacture, except, perhaps, the linen, of which we have possession, in which largeness of capital does not necessarily operate to cheapen the articles of its produce; and if Mr. Chalmers be a competent judge, it will appear, that the hope that British merchants and manufacturers will establish themselves in Ireland on account of its poverty and natural advantages, is such as no rational man, be he ever so sanguine, could entertain. I shall now complete my proposed plan, by producing a few authorities to shew, that in the measure of an Union with this country, such Englishmen as have written on the subject have looked on it, not as productive of mutual and equal benefit to both nations, but as the means of giving to England superior, or exclusive advantage.

The first which I shall produce, rather because he at one time seemed to think kindly of Ireland, than for his rank, is the Duke of Richmond. In his address to the Volunteer Delegates he says—"I am sensible there are great difficulties attending the adjustment of an Union, and that it requires great wisdom and temper to form it, especially on the part of Ireland, which must feel that she ought to give the preponderance to Great Britain." My next authority shall be Dean Tucker; who, in considering the consequences to England of an Union with Ireland has these words:—"Many of the necessaries of life would be imported cheaper into England from Ireland than they can now be purchased, a great advantage this to the merchant and manufacturer; and many more of the luxuries, ornaments, and delicacies of living, would be exported from hence into Ireland; likewise, the inducement of being near the parliament, the court, the public funds, &c. would bring many more Irish families to reside and spend their fortunes here than now do." My next authority shall be Postlethwaite, who, in the first volume of his *Essays*, page 209, has this curious passage—"Keeping Ireland a separate kingdom hath supported the Irish in the pretence of a right to it; and whenever they have an opportunity they call their parliaments and make laws, but if they were abolished, and the kingdom united with England, we should become one people, which we can never be, though we are one blood, while we live under different laws and governments. I would not mean that all the immunities that England hath in trade and manufactures should be allowed to Ireland, but only encouraged in such a way as to advance England through Ireland." I shall conclude with an extract as remarkable as the former; it is taken from a treatise

written on the subject of an Union of England with Ireland, by Sir Francis Brewster, in the year 1702, and quoted in the first vol. of Postle. page 207.—“It may be objected, that if Ireland was united they would have equal liberty of trade with England; to which it is answered, that doth not follow; they may be better restrained by the Union than they can be under the constitution they have at present; for, although England may now make laws for them, yet, they in Ireland are judges and executioners of them; and *how far they will enforce laws against the interest of their country is submitted; but when they are made by their representatives here in parliament, and liable to be questioned here if not observed, the case will be altered.*”

Let not the design of this paper be misinterpreted—my only object is to undeceive the credulity of such of my countrymen, if such there be, who still imagine that the ministerial measure of an Union, the avowed and only object of which is finance, can effectually operate to blend the affections, and identify the interests of the two countries. If there be yet men who believe in the idle romance which represents the treasure of Britain circulating through this limb of the consolidating empire, and who cherish the vain hope of enticing from England its capital and manufactures; since such men close their minds against the evidence of history and human nature, let them look to Scotland, thriving not from the introduction of English money or skill, but from the efforts of its own industry; and if they still dream of the transfer of the means of prosperity from England, let them, if they have understandings, be convinced by the testimony of Englishmen themselves, who seek for an incorporated Union as the best method of making Ireland instrumental to the aggrandizement of England.

MERCATOR.

AT THE

MUSEUM, COLLEGE-GREEN,

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

IN a few days, (if not previously disposed of by private contract,) in College-Green, where they will be brought for the purpose—

A very large collection of Automata, amounting in the whole to above an hundred, and some of them extremely curious. They have been for the most part lately purchased by a Noble Lord, who has travelled in the East and other parts of the world; but there are a

few which from having been purchased up by a young Nobleman of but small judgment in such matters will therefore be sold cheap. The reason of their being thus exposed to open sale, is, that their present proprietors will soon be under the necessity of retiring from this country, and not being able to remove them to another kingdom as they intended, they do not wish to be any longer incumbered with them. A small number are so ingeniously contrived as to utter any speeches that may be prepared for them by their purchasers: In short, they want nothing but the spirit of real men to be accounted as such. Among those which will be sold cheap are the following:

Two strange attempts at Alexander the Great:—The first apparently as dull as a modern alderman, and evidently would seem to be no very able leader even of a Prætorian band, much less the Macedonian phalanx. The other just fit to stop beer barrels.

An antient, bald, withered, sapless, figure, exhibiting a most laughable mixture of foppery and old age, adorned with a large silver star most obtrusively hidden: This article having been very frequently on sale is well known to the public.

A most ridiculous piece of mechanism, dressed in a new suit of regimentals: From the hopeless stupidity of its countenance, and sluggish clumsiness of its frame, one should imagine it was made by a journeyman, it “imitates humanity so abominably”—yet it can be easily moved, but it is observable that all attempts to incline it to the right side have failed, while with the smallest purchase you can readily warp it to the sinister.

A large figure, once esteemed valuable, but having been lately discovered to be internally unsound, and being thought likely to grow worse *daily*, it will be sold for whatever it may bring: It has lately, as a matter of convenience, been furnished with a new case, but as neither the figure or case seem to be at all adapted to each other, its being stuck into it has injured it greatly. With several others too numerous to particularize here.

THE manager of the Royal Circus, Foster-Place, thinks it necessary to inform the public, that notwithstanding the celebrated piece of the UNION, was obliged to be withdrawn on the first night of performance, owing to the impossibility of collecting a sufficient number of actors at that time, and he has been employed during the present recess in making every possible effort to bring it forward in such a stile as must ensure success. He assures them that no object of salary to the performers shall deter him from engaging the most eminent of their profession. He has had a number of agents in this and the sister country to endeavour to obtain

them at any price, and when he pledges his veracity that upwards of 200 persons are necessary to make this piece go off with eclat, he trusts the public will make every allowance for the failure on the first representation—notwithstanding the disadvantages it then laboured under, he is happy to find it had the entire approbation of the gentlemen of the Pitt. He also hoped to have for the amusement of the audience an exhibition of wild beasts, but his Wolfe being rather refractory of late, and his Fox having strayed away from the circus, he is obliged to postpone it to Saturday. Some equilibrist are engaged, and two celebrated performers, (father and son,) are arrived, who will sing the admired Irish planxy of Rowly Poley. Wanted a number of performers of moderate capacity, they will not have any thing to say, except in joining their voices at the finale: Large salaries will be given and a handsome sum advanced. HYZ.

WHEREAS it has been in the contemplation of some projectors in England, to build a bridge from Holyhead to the Hill of Howth, for the more intimate connexion of Great Britain and Ireland; and whereas the scheme offered to the overseers in Ireland, by William Pitt, the principal architect, has not been approved of; it is therefore resolved by the said architect, that he will receive new proposals for the intended structure. Now those persons who are willing to propose to carry this design into execution, are desired to apply either in England to the aforesaid William Pitt, or in Ireland to his journeyman, Signor Castle Reandi, who will promise to give every encouragement to, and amply reward such workmen or *common* labourers, as will engage to go cheerfully and patiently through the fatigue and hardship such an undertaking shall require.

The bridge must be built of the strongest and most durable materials, (that formerly built over the Tweed, to unite England and Scotland, having, from the nature of the structure, been twice or thrice in great danger of being demolished.) It is necessary to mention, that the foundation at Holyhead will be more easily laid than that at Howth; much digging and daming will be requisite; on the Irish side the *Peers* must be well grouted, that they may be able not only to support the weight of the superstructure, but have strength sufficient to resist the force of the tides, which will constantly and regularly beat against them; therefore a proper extraordinary allowance will be made to every *common* labourer, who will contribute his helping hand to forward this great national work. As this bridge, when built, will be in danger from foreign foes, it must be so constructed, that if attacked, it may be strong enough to resist every attempt that shall be made on it. The plan at large may be seen at William Pitt's, Downing-street, Westminster; or at L—C—h's, at the sign of the Struggler, in *Cook-street*, Dublin.

JUST PUBLISHED,

ALIENATING the affections of the people, the most efficacious method of strengthening the empire. By William Pitt, Esq;

The destruction of the constitution of Ireland, the condition upon which alone the Catholics can be admitted to a share in it. By the same.

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JUST published, by the special order of Roger Gower, clerk of the Hofiers, and to be sold for the benefit of 104 distressed gentlemen, who have been disappointed in going abroad to seek their fortunes; a political rhapsody on conjuring, and the means of uniting two countries together, even though they be divided by the ocean. By Wm. P——, bottle conjuror to John Bull.

N. B. Ten thousand copies are printed, to be distributed gratis, in order to civilize the *barbarous* people of Ireland. A new edition of the Sun of the 28th Jan. by the same author, was just ready, but for cogent reasons, suppressed.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1799.

No. XXI.

TO THE
PEOPLE
OF
Ireland.

THE advocates of an Union complain that the question is not fairly discussed—that the voice of reason is drowned in popular clamour—they demand cool, dispassionate enquiry; and they beseech you not to prejudge them and their system. Are they sincere when they desire you to deliberate and then to decide for yourselves and your posterity? Or do they wish to amuse you into silence, until they shall have decided for you, and in your name, and until all effectual means of prevention shall have passed irrevocably away?

When, how, and by whom, has this measure been proposed, and has it been introduced merely upon its merits, and has it appealed solely to your reason? Try the sincerity of its advocates, and the justness of their complaints, by these simple and fair tests.

As to the time of the measure:—Was it ever known that the period of war was deemed a fit season to embark in laborious and interesting details upon speculative projects of political improvement? How many weeks have elapsed since every man was branded as a republican, who presumed, at such a period, to suggest the slightest change in our constitution? And shall the very men who affixed the brand, themselves without suspicion, now propose, admittedly, the most important innovation that ever was projected in this country? The plea of necessity cannot be resorted to for a discussion, in every respect obviously unseasonable and pernicious. For it is admitted by the ablest and most strenuous advocates of an Union, that its beneficial effects must be slow and gradual; and it is no where contended, that it will pour any sudden balm into our wounds—except, indeed, upon its final rejection; and it is manifest, that even the most temperate discussion of such a subject, must at present open and inflame them.

If then, an Union proposes no immediate and speedy relief from our calamities, and is resorted to merely for its future and distant effects; why, I ask, has the nation, under its present circumstances, been tortured by the discussion? Why was the crisis of agony selected as the moment most propitious to deliberation? Manifestly, my countrymen, that you might not deliberate.

That impudent falsehood might proclaim your assent, while terror and dismay, and perhaps astonishment, at such effrontery, kept you silent.

I am not surprized that those who wished to steal away your constitution, should be shocked and disgusted at the clamour which has been raised against the detected and reprobated fraud. *Stop thief*, are words which are seldom gently or harmoniously articulated; and cannot be expected to sound agreeably in those ears against which they are levelled. I hope, however, notwithstanding the fastidious delicacy of certain persons, that the popular outcry will not suddenly cease; that it will be continued until the knavish project be finally abandoned; or your constitution fully secured against so wicked an aggression.

If the time of the measure be suspicious, is there any counterpoise from the manner in which it was introduced, or the Gentlemen Ushers who introduced it? A measure proposed for the avowed purpose of cementing two nations in a lasting Union of interests and affections, one would have imagined, should have proceeded from the nations themselves. At least popular and respected characters should have recommended it, and the sentiments and feelings of the public been consulted and considered, before any such project was avowed in Parliament. No such process. The measure is decided upon in the British Cabinet. Men of Parliamentary interest in Ireland are commanded to appear at St. James's—not to give their opinions, but to make their terms, and receive their instructions. A pamphlet is written by an Englishman, under the auspices, almost by the dictation, of Government; and circulated gratuitously, and with much industry, through the nation. I am at a loss to know what degree of gratitude we owe for this involuntary service. In this pamphlet (from which the Minister seems to have borrowed all his notions about the state of Ireland) you are pretty plainly told, that you are not fit for liberty; and the Parliament is told that the only atonement it can make for its manifold sins, and wickedness, is by suicide. The author or editor of this performance, is unfortunately too well known to you. Being himself at once cause, proof, and herald, of that profligacy for which he would attain your Parliament, and extinguish your Constitution; it was, I presume, conceived, that his testimony upon that subject would be conclusive. Our Parliament, thank heaven, has refuted the calumny. But they still owe something to the feelings of an indignant people. It remains to punish it.

But was the measure, announced as it was upon the very eve of its being submitted to Parliament, fairly laid before the public, for calm discussion, even during the

short interval between the time, when it was deemed evidence of a treasonable disposition to impute it to government, and the actual propounding it in Parliament? Have its advocates just grounds for saying it came recommended purely by its intrinsic merit, and appealed solely to the dispassionate and unbiassed understanding of the nation? Have they a right to complain that a free, fair, and disinterested discussion, has not taken place?

One would have imagined, that the terror of that military government, which continues even still to jostle our judges from their seats, was a sufficient impediment to popular meetings not convened by the castle. One would have imagined that the daily trial of men not subject to the mutiny act, for political offences, by court-martial, contrary to every principle of our laws and constitution, and in defiance of the declared and known opinion of the Court of King's Bench, would have operated sufficiently, to have suppressed the public sentiment. It is not uncharitable to presume, that this monstrous and unprecedented jurisdiction, has been continued in use and practice for that purpose, there not being the slightest necessity for so deadly a violation of right, or any other assignable motive for its strange and preposterous continuance. One would imagine that the suspension of the habeas corpus act, the unsparing exercise of the uncontrolled power of government over personal liberty, and the menacing anxiety with which this question has been pressed forward, would have operated sufficiently. But more pointed and direct efforts were deemed necessary. Sheriffs were induced or intimidated to prevent county meetings, and military commanders threaten to disperse all bodies of citizens, who shall treasonably assemble to question the right of an English Minister to inflict upon us the blessings of a Legislative Union.

But has Parliament itself been suffered to discuss this measure with freedom? Most unquestionably not. The Minister has openly exerted the whole patronage of Ireland to induce your Representatives to belie their sentiments and betray their country. The dismissal of officers of the crown, for parliamentary opposition upon ordinary occasions, may at least be reconciled to the recent practice of our constitution. But is this an ordinary occasion, or within the spirit or principle of that practice? A measure proceeds from the Minister, upon which he says he wishes to take the unbiassed sense of Parliament. He assumes the competency of that Parliament, to alter and new-model the whole frame of the Government and Constitution; but admits that the solemn and decisive measure ought not to be carried into effect contrary to the wishes and feelings of the nation; but he again asserts, that the Representative body furnishes a fair criterion of the public sentiment.

Suppose his principles all admitted:—Does it not clearly and incontestably follow, that upon such an occasion peculiarly, the Representative, even tho' a placeman, should be free and unbiassed? Can he at one and the same time represent the Minister and his Constituents,

when the avowed purpose of resorting to him is to discover whether the latter agrees in sentiment with the former? Can the Representative fairly communicate either with his own sentiments, or those of the public, when he is imperatively told, that he must forfeit his office, if he differs from the Minister? Is the sacrifice of 3000l. per annum a necessary test of the sincerity of an anti-union member; and is the gain of so much, no imputation upon the honesty and sincerity of his opponent?

The Minister talks of the small majority against the measure:—I venture to assert, that no occurrence ever so astonished him, as that there was any majority—Much as he despises, and loudly as he calumniates, our Parliament, it has furnished him with an example of virtue, upon which, from any thing within his experience, he could not calculate. It is not, however, to his taste. I dare say he calls it Boeotian dullness. Having issued his commands to dismiss every refractory placeman, and to treat with every ductile expectant, he would have reckoned upon a majority, if the measure had been an avowed, and not a disguised annihilation of our trade and constitution.

But does the Minister really believe that only a small majority differed in their hearts from him? He knows in his heart the contrary. He knows that many who voted for him, or for their places, expressed the most decided disapprobation of the measure. His manager here can tell, if he communicates the truth, that the triumph of the treasury bench, at being defeated, could not be disguised. He could command the votes of placemen, but he could not govern their feelings. Many of them openly acknowledge the motive of their compliance. They prefer the lesser to the greater shame.

At a crisis, my countrymen, when so much active and disinterested virtue has been displayed, we ought rather to compassionate, than condemn, the ordinary frailty of human nature. All men are not born to be heroes. I pity the man, who, having no means of support for himself and his family, but the emolument of an office which he has long enjoyed, and filled with character, and who now is suddenly called upon to choose between famine and disgrace. I know that many such men would, in the progress of this business, if it had proceeded, have redeemed their character. I pity the sad necessity under which they acted, and I give credit even to their patriotic wishes, and future intentions. But what shall we say to a young Lord who should dictate such terms? Who should in person, unfeelingly and imperiously issue the cruel mandate to honorable and reverend age, and exact such a sacrifice from the exquisite feelings of private and domestic virtue. I often thought that a thorough-paced politician was the most cruel and cold-blooded animal in existence. A young, thorough-paced politician, is a rare monster.

W.

ASTRONOMICAL INTELLIGENCE
EXTRAORDINARY.

ON Monday last, a central and total eclipse of the Sun was observed by a great concourse of spectators in College-Green. The phenomenon was attended by the following singular circumstances:

This eclipse was altogether unforeseen by the British astronomers.

The commencement of the eclipse was precisely at 1h. 50" o' P. M. The Post-office clock not being generally used for astronomical observations does not show seconds; and its entire duration was less than ten minutes.

During this short space the whole body of the Sun was observed first to be enveloped in black smoke, then suddenly to burst forth into flames, and in an instant the body of the Sun was no longer to be seen; leaving only in its place as the poet says "darkness-visible."

After the eclipse, the Sun was not observed to recover his wonted splendor, but remained of a deadly and ashen hue.

For a considerable time before and after the eclipse, as well as during its continuance, the spectators, contrary to all usage, sent forth the most extravagant shouts of joy, huzzas, clapping of hands, and laughing.

From these circumstances we are warranted to draw the following conclusions:

1. That the Sun cannot be a body of such magnitude as some pretend, otherwise this central and total eclipse must have been of much longer duration.

2. That the Sun is not a body of such importance in our system as some have vainly imagined; because, after his body ceased to be visible, the splendor of the Georgium Sidus alone afforded sufficient light to the inhabitants of Dublin.

3. That the Sun is not, by the natives of Ireland, held in such veneration as he is by the black slaves and certain other barbarians, who are known to utter expressions of grief during an eclipse; and many of whom resident in Dublin, did on this day, persist in their lamentable custom against the general feeling, howling like dogs and grunting like swine during the whole of the eclipse.

4. That astronomical or human knowledge, or the knowledge of men, is not arrived at the perfection so much boasted by our neighbours, from whose wife heads we borrow our principal information on this science; as their not foreseeing this extraordinary phenomenon, or foretelling it in their ephemeris, set forth by authority sufficiently testifies.

5. That the longitude of Dublin has been grossly mistaken by the astronomer royal, (as the calculations I have made from this eclipse sufficiently demonstrate,) and that we are not so near the meridian of London by full one hundred and eleven degrees, in round numbers neglecting the odd minutes and seconds, as he has most erroneously determined.

6. The result upon the whole is this: That we should trust no more to the fallacious calculations of foreign astronomers which may lead us into great error. But that in a science so important to our navigation and commerce, our properties and our lives, we should exert our native abilities to judge for ourselves. We have a learned university to assist our youth, and my own labours have never been wanting either in the way of oral or written instruction, (see my Philosophical works in 3 vol. oct. Dublin.)

FELIX O'GALLAGHER, Philomath.

*Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat.* Hor.

SUN FIRE OFFICE.

Monday, 11th February, 1799.

WE stop the press to acquaint the world, that this day, between the hours of one and two o'clock, the solar planet was observed to have an unusual fiery appearance, (though the atmosphere was extremely cold and hazy, and Fahrenheit's thermometer was many degrees below freezing point.) In a few minutes some curious black spots, not those so long discovered by Herschel, and other star-gazers, very much in the shape of printed letters, were discernible to the beholders, many thousands of whom assembled in College-green to observe this extraordinary phenomenon.

The subtle figures, by the help of an excellent telescope, produced for the amusement and satisfaction of the public by that celebrated astronomer, Counsellor O'Donnell, appeared to be of a combustible and phlogistic nature, said to have been conveyed to the surface of the Sun between the 28th, 29th, and 30th days of January last, by some malignant and infernal magicians employed by our evil genius, unfriendly to our climate and constitution, and intended to cast pernicious vapours and noxious reflections on our part of the earth.

The chief magistrates of the city having assembled by order of the great council of the nation, aided by some of the most able natural philosophers, and professors of the occult sciences were directed to place an electrical apparatus near the statue of the great and immortal King William, and by some of those famous mechanic powers, (so ably described by Gulliver in his travels to Lilliput, that could move and direct that flying island,) the solar luminary, which had so long administered its baneful light to deceive the world, was commanded us by Joshua, to stand still, and by some electric sparks from the High Sheriff's chain to an inferior agent, who has long had the management of the rope; the sun went through a fiery ordeal, or flaming purification, and was thus cleared from the black spots that obscured its body, and which had for some time concealed the light of truth from the eyes of mankind. We however, hope, though the Sun itself was greatly scorched in the opera-

tion, that it will have more sun-shine and good humour hereafter.

It was observable, the electric matter which influenced this philosophic spectacle was seen to emit from a large dome in Foster-place, where the business was first put in motion for the benefit of the nation; and that all the professors cordially joined themselves together, (a very unusual custom with men always debating and dividing) and touched each other's fingers to carry the spirited effulgence to the prime conductor, which, like a flash of lightning, dazzled the public eyes, and the thunder of applause which attended the experiment, like an electrical shock, must be felt by all those who had a hand in *disfiguring the Sun*, and causing it to be treated in such an ignominious manner by the sons of the earth.

A poetaster in the crowd was heard to exclaim, in a paraphrase from Rochester—

“ By heavens ’twas bravely done,
“ To add new fuel to the SUN,
“ Like melted ore to make it run.

A MAN IN THE MOON.

Intelligence Extraordinary.

WE are happy to inform the public that Mr. Pitt, with that foresight which distinguishes him, knowing that the Sun would be burned in Ireland, and fearing that his Majesty's loyal subjects in this kingdom might be left in utter darkness, has been graciously pleased to send over a *mouthful of moonshine* for our illumination.

N. B. The above moonshine to be had gratis at Mr. Grietson's, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, in Parliament-street.

2d N. B. Mr. Grietson does not give his patent Bibles or Prayer Books gratis, but deals in the last mentioned articles for ready money only.

JUST arrived in custody of the High Sheriff of the county of Monaghan, a number of Gentlemen Clergymen, Tythe-Farmers, Proctors, Prothonotaries, Collectors, Gaugers, and Excisemen, with a numerous train of well-wishers, who have had themselves brought up by *habeas corpus* for the purpose of shewing cause to the people of Ireland why it is incumbent on them to surrender their legislative rights into the hands of Great Britain, and also for the purpose of entering their protest upon the Journals of the House of Commons against the infatuated majority of 111 who opposed the Union.

On the *indiscretion* of the Minister's Paper the SUN, which was said by a Newsmen to be the Minister's Child.

Who says *Billy Pitt* is the fire of the Sun?
Who sports the assertion in falsehood or fun?
This same tell-tale Sun is the *foe* of that spark,
Throwing light on his mischiefs so foul and so dark.

SIMON SQUIB.

We are happy to inform the public that Lord C——gh, who has looked very pale of late has recovered his complexion, and ever since Monday last has appeared *Sun-burnt*, notwithstanding the severity of the season.

YOUNG Phaeton, presumptuous Boy,
His brain by wild ambition turn'd,
Snatching the reins with frantic joy,
The goodly frame of earth was burn'd.

Vain effort of that feeble hand,
To guide the chariot of his fire,
The steeds disdain'd its weak command,
And set the frighten'd world on fire.

The world recover'd as it could,
And cool'd as soon as it was able,
And drown'd in the succeeding flood—
All memory of the former fable.

Rash C——h, audacious lad,
The Phaeton of modern days,
In hot career as wild and mad,
Has set old Ireland in a blaze.

But joy succeeds old Ireland's fright,
We bless the giddy course he run;
The blaze hath kindled lasting light,
And Paddy now may burn the Sun.

EPIGRAM:

A GREAT state-cook, high William Pitt,
Resolv'd our changing tastes to hit;
Compos'd a mess, that must give some aches—
To persons of the strongest stomachs:
And closely cover'd in a pot,
He sent it over piping hot;
And here employ'd ('twas as he wish'd it))
An English COOK who nicely *disb'd* it.

TRANSLATION OF THE MOTTO OF THE SUN.

Solem quis dicere falsum audeat?

YOUR Sun, you say, no lies can tell—
Pray why then does he burn in hell?

Aliter.

Your Sun is prov'd to be a liar,
I saw him burning in hell fire.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION
GENTLEMEN,

PLEASE to inform me whether Serjeant Major Blabber, mentioned in your last number, be not an *erratum* for Serjeant Major Blubber.

Your faithful reader,

THOMAS TELL-TALE.

A QUERY FOR CASUISTS.

IF a gentleman or man gets a bribe for betraying a private conversation, can it be properly called *husb-money*?

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1799.

No. XXII.

TO THE IRISH NATION.

— rapere falsis nominibus imperium.
Tacitus in vita Agricola.

COUNTRYMEN,

THE fever of expectation has at length subsided—The agitations of fear and hope are at an end—but if I mistake not the feelings which have succeeded those agitations are not less fatal to your quiet. The development of that plot which has been formed against your liberty has shewn you, indeed, the extent of your danger; but accompanied, as that development was, with proofs that the danger is yet imminent, you must now more than ever be occupied with the momentous and anxious question how it shall be averted? Momentous indeed it is! far too great for one mind to discuss or decide on. But though it be not for the individual to dictate on a question which seems to belong exclusively to the nation, or rather to that constitutional organ of the nation's will, which has, on this occasion, so loudly and faithfully spoken the sense of Ireland; yet in this free state, every man not only has a right, at such a time as this, but is bound to communicate to his countrymen the impressions which he feels. I avail myself of this privilege, then, while yet I may, to ease the throbbings of an heart bursting with the indignant feelings of an Irishman, who sees his country and all the blessings it contains, his friends, his family, his offspring, exposed in prostrate weakness to the uplifted dagger of an avowed and persevering enemy who hears eternal war declared against the constitution which he has bled to defend, and which justifies him in the proud boast of being the free subject of a free state!

Is this the situation of Ireland at this hour? I refer those who doubt, to the insolent and hypocritical preamble with which the British minister has prefaced the deed of sale which, if we resist not, is to transfer for ever the kingdom of Ireland and its people into the power of the British parliament. I know not what impression that speech may have made on others, but to me it appears a piece of base and black sophistry, comprehending at once a premeditated insult on the people of this country, and a denunciation of eternal hostility against its constitution. How does it insult us? I answer, in every way in which a country can be insulted: It calumniates our morals—it derides our intellect—it laughs at our weakness—it mocks our poverty—and it charges the legislature which governs us, not with venial errors, but with a radical incapacity, from its ignorance and its corruption, to discharge its functions. Every argument by which

it attempts to recommend an Union is founded on the ignorance, the barbarism, the vices, of the people of Ireland, their pretended dependance on British generosity for existence as a nation, and on their alleged incapacity to subsist without British protection. And why is it that we do not accede to the force of these arguments? We are told it is because, barbarous and uncivilized as we are, we reject from PREJUDICE a proffered boon! Is it then prejudice to reject a proposal which extinguishes for ever the sovereignty of our country? Is it prejudice to love independence, to uphold a constitution which we obtained with difficulty and have defended with our blood? Is it prejudice in Ireland to spurn the yoke and to refuse unconditional submission to the legislature of a country, which, when we were subject to them, treated us with cruelty, with injustice, which even now the friends of that country, the advocates of the proposed measure can neither deny, nor justify, nor extenuate, nay, which they do not wish to extenuate, but actually boast of as the only bond which kept the countries together? But the days of darkness, it is said, are past, and the enlightened policy of Great Britain now perceives that the interests of the two countries are one, and that the prosperity of Ireland must increase the wealth of Britain. How does this appear? Is it proved by the present conduct of Great Britain, or by the avowed principles of her policy in this very instance? No, certainly. On the contrary, she explicitly declares that while Ireland retains her separate independence, the prosperity of *this* country, is a just cause of fear and jealousy in *that*. For, is not this the principle upon which this project of an Union rests—that in order to make the interests of Ireland compatible with those of Britain, Ireland must forego all distinct existence, and submit herself and her concerns to the direction of the British legislature? And why is this necessary but because, even yet, with all her pretences to liberality, Great Britain sees in Ireland a rival, whose existence is inconsistent with *her* ease and safety? Thus the very proposal of an Union proves the continued existence of former prejudices, and involves a declaration of the old principle of hostility under a new name—*The delenda est Carthago* is translated by it into plain English, and becomes “*Ireland must unite with Britain or be put down!*”

But would even an Union save Ireland from the operation of this destructive principle? To answer this, let us consider what are the evils which the minister resorts to an Union to correct. The principal of these is “the division of sects in the remnant of ancient hostility between the old inhabitants and the settlers.” Now, I ask how can an Union terminate those divisions unless

by the equal compreffure of flavery upon all parties, that preffure which reduces what is high to the loweft level, and finks what is now loweft lower, which is in fact the principle of hofility to Ireland carried to its extreme I know but one way in which British power can obviate the hofility between the "old inhabitants and fettlers," if that diftinction yet exifts after they have been incorporated for fo many centuries: I fee but one way I fay in which British power can appeafe Irish jealoufies, namely, *that* in which a paramount ftate generally tranquillizes a fubject one, putting down one party by another, and then extinguifhing that which furvives. Barbarous and incorrigible as the British minifter thinks us, what more gentle treatment could we expect than others in the fame circumftances have experienced? But who are the fettlers?—have they not been Englifhmen, overflowing with that valour, virtue, and civilization, which we are told will rufh in upon us after an Union and regeperate our country? Now, if thefe fame Englifh fettlers have hitherto produced fo little effect in reclaiming our "old inhabitants" from their inveterate barbarifm, what hope can be entertained that the new comers will be more fucceffful? Alas! it is but too true, I fear, that there is not now a greater ftock of this valour and virtue in England than there was two or three centuries back;—a new importation, therefore, if our ports were open for it, would not I apprehend be much more copious or effective than former ones. How then would the tranquillifing and civilifing fpeculation proceed? I will not fhock the feelings or alarm the fears of the old Mifefian, by pointing out to him what *other* modes might be put in practice to reform him, befides the example of British virtue, but left at a future day his patience and fortitude fhould be put to the trial, I will fuggelt to him (if he be civilized enough to know that partial evil muft be fuffered for the general good) that "many lamentable but neceffary infiditions" will perhaps then have become indifpenfable for the general fecurity of the British empire—for the removal "of that ignorance and want of civilization which exift in Ireland in a greater degree than in any other country"—for the extinction of "religious and national feuds and animofities," and to make way for the "infufion of British valour and British virtue" into his native country! But let not the old Irish be alarmed, their barbarifm will not be fo obftinate as to force the civilizing power of Britain to fuch extreme expedients. The importation of British valour and virtue will be attended with the "introduction of a more cultivated intellect"—The blindness of Ireland which is at prefent fuch as a British minifter "could have no conception of" will be removed—The hebetude of Irish faculties will be fharpener—And the moft barbarous country in the world will catch by sympathy the morals, the

the manners, and the induftry, of the civilizing ftate! It was impudent of France to talk of giving liberty to Europe; but let the world judge whether the infolence of the British minifter does not outstrip France when he talks of giving, not liberty, but intellect to a country.

But *we are to have* the British conftitution! I call on every man who wifhes well to the connection between the two countries to fay who it is that now endangers that connection—Mr. Pitt, who tells Ireland that fhe is not free, becaufe her crown is on the head of a British King; or thofe who oppofe an Union, becaufe Ireland already poffeffes the conftitution of England? But granting for a moment that we have it not, and that we enjoy but a mockery of freedom; is it from Mr. Pitt—is it, I afk, from Britain herfelf that we are to beg or buy a conftitution? Is liberty exclufively the growth of British foil? Does it participate of qualities which, like thofe of noxious animals, cannot exift in an atmofphere purely Irish, and muft we incorporate with England before it will live in our ifland? No! countrymen; believe me, liberty and a free conftitution may be obtained by any country whofe inhabitants are MEN; and the fecurity and continuance of that liberty depends *only* upon their own virtue. If you cannot be free without the patronage and protection of Britain, you cannot be free with it:—Your liberty and your conftitution muft be felf-existent, or they are nothing. You may as well talk of creating fhadow without light or fubftance, as of giving liberty to thofe who want ftrength or virtue to acquire it. The liberty of a ftate is like the ftrength of an individual, both muft flow from an inherent principle—both are incommunicable.

But how are the Catholics to be affected by an Union? The majority of the "old inhabitants" of Ireland are Catholics, and they have been the merchandize of party for a century back. Let it not be fuppofed that I mean to bribe the Catholic to defend the conftitution of his country againft the aggression of an infolent affailant; the fervices which are bought in fuch a cafe are worthlefs, for they are infincere and capricious: I call on him but to open his eyes—to view his prefent fituation, and to weigh well the offers which are made to tempt him to betray his truft to his country and his pofterity. What does Mr. Pitt offer to bribe the Catholic? His offer, if it can be called one, is comprehended in this memorable fentence:—"If *EVER the day comes* that the Catholics fhall give proof of their principles, that it is *safe* to admit them to every privilege, fuch a meafure, in an united parliament, would be free from all thofe dangers which would threaten Ireland if it were confidered as a feparate and diftinct legiflature." Now I fay that this fentence, framed as it is in the evafive and quoning fpirit which marks the compofition of this dealer in words, is yet fufficiently explicit to prove to any man of common underftanding that the Catholic has *NOTHING* to expect from an Union, which, while it leaves him as he ftood, would involve the reft of the country in hopelefs dependance and indelible difgrace. "If *ever the day comes*

† For this and the other paffages marked with (" ") inverted commas vide Mr. Pitt's fpeech in the British Houfe of Commons on the 31ft of January, as publifhed in the Morning Post.

that the Catholics shall give proof of their principles!" It is evident then that the probation of a century has not proved to Mr Pitt that the Catholics may be admitted to every privilege.—When then will he be satisfied?—At the end of another century, should he, or *such* a minister, then exist? It is doubtful whether he who has thought a trial of one century insufficient, would be convinced at the end of another; but it is *not* doubtful that an advantage so remote, even if it were certain, can but little influence the actions of the present generation; and the Catholics, I conceive, will not be much inclined to confide in the future policy of that man who declares that at present he does not think it *safe* to trust them. I conclude then, that from Mr. Pitt, should he succeed in his plan of subjugating the country, the Catholic has nothing to hope. What does he see on the other side? At present he is excluded, certainly, from some of the privileges of the constitution; but it cannot escape his attention that he is in progression toward a *full* enjoyment of all its benefits. It is yet little more than twenty years since he began his career from a point which, happily, is very remote indeed from that at which he now stands: His progress, for some years, was slow; but as he advanced, his velocity increased, and has continued to increase with rapid acceleration till the present hour, when the goal appears not only within view, but almost within his reach. Do I promise him that he shall reach it? No; it is not mine to promise—that is an event which, like the effect of a physical cause, depends not on the will of the individual, but on the immutable laws which govern the moral world—for it is not to the spirit of Catholic claims—to the management of the Catholic body—nor to the liberality and concessions of the Protestant that I attribute his elevation to the rank of freeman which he now holds. I consider it as the natural and necessary effect of a wise, temperate and loyal conduct on his part, and the expanding energy of our free constitution on the other. While *he*, then, continues to act with wisdom, temperance and loyalty, and while *we* continue to possess a free constitution, those causes will continue to produce the same effects, and must, eventually, raise him to that highest point in the scale of freedom for which his virtue shall have fitted him. But let him start aside from the honourable course he has hitherto pursued; let him for the base bribe which an insidious minister *holds up to his view*, but *does not promise him*—let him for this become a deadly instrument in the hands of that minister to stab the constitution of his native land;—he will find himself shorn of his strength, and instead of being raised to the dignity which he courted, will be sunk to that lowest state of human degradation—that of a disappointed traitor; laughed at by the knave who duped him, and execrated by all mankind! He will learn, when too late, that personal freedom cannot be obtained by selling the liberties of his country!

In offering to my countrymen these few thoughts on

the speech of the British Minister, I have not touched on the question now so common—"Is the Union given up? Will the Minister press the measure?" If the question were asked of me, I would say to the people of Ireland—"It depends on you whether the Minister will, or will not, press an Union:" so far as extrinsic circumstances can affect you, your subjugation is already complete; the contract for your delivery is already signed, sealed and delivered to the British parliament; it remains only that the Guinea Merchant who has made it, should get possession of you in order to fulfill his bargain." This is not a fanciful allusion; and it is worth observing, perhaps, that the reasons which are offered to induce you to an Union are exactly those by which the trader in human flesh extenuates the barbarous traffic—"He rescues the hapless African from the turbulence, the blood, the barbarity, the ignorance, which made his freedom a curse—and he confers on him all the blessings of tranquil, civilized, industrious SLAVERY!" He restrains his turbulence, but it is by fetters! He teaches him morality, but it is with stripes! He inculcates christianity, but it is by the driver's whip! The British Minister too, offers to tranquillize, to instruct, to civilize Ireland; but the price of union must be her liberty! Let us take care that if we give up freedom for British morals, and independence for her civilization, Irishmen will not be taught by the same process!

But if the Minister be resolved to carry an Union, can we prevent him? I say, YES. Yet I allow the task may be difficult. The situation in which we stand, is, no doubt, most arduous—it calls for incessant vigilance, and indefatigable activity. But I have no doubt that if we set about the work, we are fully equal to it. The people of Ireland know not their own force, if they doubt it. In the moral, as well as the natural world, there exist powers of indefinite force, in subjects apparently feeble—and which want but to be concentrated, to be irresistible—A drop of water, reduced to steam, and properly confined and directed, may burst a rock. One principle fairly urged, may overset a Minister, tho' fortified by all the patronage of an empire, and disencumbered of all the clogs of honesty and honour. But what is that principle which must be inculcated to save Ireland? It is this, "That national liberty and independence are the only true sources of sound morals, of civilization, of wealth, of strength, and of commerce—that liberty and independence, are the constitution of Ireland; and that the people of Ireland, (I mean its property, not its population) are its guardians." I shall not now enter into a detail of those measures, which, as guardians of their constitution, I think they ought to take at this momentous crisis—happily, the integrity, the spirit of its representatives, have made it the less necessary. I shall, therefore, only suggest to them that they acquired that constitution by boldy speaking out, and that by the same explicit declaration of their sense, by the manly, bold avowal that they are determined

to maintain the independence they have asserted, they will preserve it! Such a declaration, the British Minister, rash and presumptuous as he is, will not dare to controvert. Should, however, that measure fail, the means of Ireland are not yet exhausted—other modes will occur, by which a legal resistance may be made to a project that endangers the connection of the empire. But should even these remedies fail also, I am told there remains yet ANOTHER—one deeply hidden in the bosom of the constitution; and which is to be revealed but with its expiring breath! It is not for ME to disclose it!

AN IRISHMAN.

S O N G.

Tune—"Moggy Lawder."

IERNE once the Premier sought,
With Johnny Bull to wed, sir,
And to his Royal Master brought,
Proposals on that head, sir,
And begg'd his Majesty would take
Into consideration,
If by their Union he could make
One great, imperial nation.

The council summon'd by the king,
Debated on the scheme, sir,
And soon they all approv'd the thing,
Well knowing whence it came, sir.

Young Billy much rejoic'd to see
His plan met approbation,
And whisper'd to old Hawkesbury,
"Good funds for new taxation."

To work, then slyly Billy went,
Well skill'd in prostitution,
To bribe the Irish Parliament,
To sell their Constitution.
The safest means of ev'ry kind,
Were used by this projector,
But one apostate could he find,
A heartli-money collector.

Let's stigmatize with mark'd contempt,
And scorn the sordid knave, sir,
Whom private int'rest thus could tempt,
His country to enslave, sir.
Our liberties we will maintain,
Nor tamely them surrender,
But each shall firmly still remain,
His country's bold defender.

'Gainst Traitors and Despotism,
Our kingdom we'll defend, sir,
And henceforth all domestic schism,
For ever let us end, sir.
In one great cause let all unite,
To guard the Irish nation,
In independence, her birth-right,
'Gainst British usurpation.

In bumpers all distinctions drown,
And in their place let's toast then,
Ierne's Parliament and Crown,
And may she ever boast them.
Great Britain still we'll freely serve,
And still support connection,
But independence we'll preserve,
For an Union is subjection.

Dublin: Printed by James Moore, 45, College-green.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1799.

No. XXIII.

TO THE
INHABITANTS OF ULSTER.

Vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere:—
quid me perferre patriæ
iudicium cogis ?

IN the question of an incorporated legislative Union with Great Britain, there is not any part of the kingdom whose inhabitants are more capable of judging of the expediency of such a measure, nor any more interested in its event than those whom I address: Your education and habits give you the capability of forming a well founded opinion as to its effect: Your exclusive possession of that manufacture, by means of which Ireland has attained its present consequence and wealth, gives you a greater stake in the issue of the contest than any other part of the kingdom has; an awful time approaches, when you must speak to be heard, or for ever close your mouths upon the subject: The question, if once carried, is, in its nature, irrevocable; and when determined, concludes not only yourselves, but your posterity for ever.

The author of a pamphlet, which is said to be sanctioned by our administration, says—"The question of forming an *Union* between two countries must never be confuted with the *subjection* of one country to another; the latter is supposed to be the result of *force*, the former of *consent*; the one is never to be submitted to but from *necessity*, the other may be the object of *choice*; if therefore this is a question of *Union*, and not of *subjection*, and if it is not to be imposed by *force* on the one hand, and submitted to of *necessity* on the other, but that our *consent* and *choice* is to have any weight in determining the matter, our real sentiments ought to appear; they should be expressed honestly and openly, that at least our consent may not be inferred from our silence.

The great staple of your Province is the Linen Manufacture, and (so far as provincial considerations should guide you upon a national question) ought to be the foundation of your opinion. In the improved and flourishing state of that Manufacture which you have witnessed, and its incalculable increase both in quantity and price within these last ten years, a thinking man will naturally

be led to consider how this great national change is likely to affect a manufacture so extensive and so improving. What further advantages it offers to the manufacturer, and what future contingencies are to repay him for the present certainty which he relinquishes—these ought to be well weighed, and something more than speculation should be required to induce you to give up that constitution under which you have become prosperous and wealthy; all we have to hope for is, that our manufacture will not be put upon a worse establishment than it stands at present—for it is very remarkable, that in the pamphlet before alluded to, in which nothing is left undone which unprincipled artifice can suggest, to persuade this nation of the benefits of an Union, where advantages are held out to the south and to the west of Ireland, whilst Cork, Waterford and Limerick are severally promised increased trade and manufacture—the author has not had sufficient effrontery to tell the north that it can be benefited by the measure: But he tells you that Irish linens have at present a preference in the British market; that "these advantages in favor of the north of Ireland England might *repeal* or *diminish* whenever the pleases; by an Union they might be fixed for ever;" instead of holding out future advantages to arise to you in consequence of it, he suggests the deprivation of benefits which you possess; unable to find arguments to induce your *compliance*, he has recourse to *denunciation* and *threat* to prevent your resistance. Whether this argument applies to the *consent* which is necessary to an Union, or to the *force* which constitutes subjection, and ought never to be submitted to but of necessity, the author ought to have informed us: But how are these advantages to be "fixed for ever by an Union?" We have seen among the heads of the Union as published in our newspapers, that the linen manufacture is to be protected and secured upon its present footing—but what security have we that this or any other article will be adhered to; that they will not be altered or subverted in ten or twenty years, whilst the protesting voice of our hundred exiled representatives (supposing them all honest and faithful) is drowned amid the acclamation of British majority in the imperial parliament, impelled by English prejudice, and encouraged by English ministerial influence. Believe me, national honor means nothing more than national interest—that there is no instance in which they have jostled, where the former has not fallen before the latter; and that even the name of honor never outlives the hour when interest calls for its forfeiture.

The only chance we have of escaping this national calamity is by expressing our decided detestation of it;—

I will not believe that the British minister will be so weak and wicked as to persist in forcing such a measure upon us, if it is contrary to the wishes and consent of the nation; but if he should be so unprincipled, do not submit to the degradation of having a *subjection* forced upon you under the name of an *Union*, or be necessitated to beg for what we detest and abhor. It is a duty which we owe to ourselves, and our country, to let our sentiments be publicly known—It is a duty which we owe to our posterity to resist a measure by which we sow the seeds of future rebellions, and unnaturally beneath the harvest to our children: Impoverished, taxed, and oppressed they will say, the consent of our fathers never was obtained to this destructive measure—They were taken by surprize, at the end (if I may venture to call this the end) of a cruel and savage rebellion—They were terrified into this Union which depopulates our country. In my opinion, one of the strongest arguments against the Union is, that the time when it was proposed, and the expedition with which it was carried, will afford to our children a reason why they should free themselves from the shackles thus forced upon us: They will seize the first moment of British distress to tear them off, and reassert their independence—they will awake from their dream, and I tremble for the event of their awaking!

But for ourselves a more efficacious and less dangerous method is open: Let the voice of the nation be heard upon the question—If that agrees in thinking this an oppressive and ill-timed innovation, it may yet be prevented—It will not be forced upon you, your Sovereign never will be unjust to you—Or if a majority of the people of Ireland should approve of an Union, whatever the sentiments of individuals may be, they must yield to the opinion of that majority. The Union will then come to us more graciously, because our opinion has been taken, our consent obtained—our children will then lose the idea of revenge for an oppression in calm submission: they will learn resignation in the belief, that when we consented to the measure, our intention was good, and we had only mistaken the means of making them happy. Thus, and no otherwise, can England expect a firm and lasting Union.

The only constitutional method of procuring the sentiments of the nation, upon any political subject, is by meetings of freeholders and freemen in the different counties and cities: This ought to be immediately and universally adopted. It is peculiarly necessary and useful in your province, where freeholders are possessed of information, to form an opinion, and independence to speak it aloud. Require your Sheriffs in your different counties to convene county meetings for the purpose of considering this question, and transmitting your opinions to your different representatives: such every sheriff ought, every honest sheriff will attend to, and comply with;—but should there be any one ignorant or corrupt

enough to refuse, you may as legally assemble without his interference, as has been very fully shewn to you by incontrovertible argument in the seventh number of this paper. It is the constitutional and unalienable right of freeholders to assemble for the purpose of instructing their representatives; and on such a question as this it is indisputably the duty of representatives to receive, and to obey the instructions of their constituents: I say, on such a question as this, which has for its object to wrest from you for ever that right which you have entrusted into the hands of your present representatives for a limited time—when that trustee in whom you have invested your dearest possession for a time, is going to resign it for ever to a stranger without your consent, and contrary to your wish: caution him not to do so—tell him that he betrays his trust if he does—instruct him by giving him your opinion, the opinion of such men must and will have weight:—Rouse yourselves then! the crisis of your fever is past!—a lassitude and languor has succeeded, but shake it off, and your nerves will reassume their accustomed tone. To be silent when your dearest rights are invaded is an unpardonable apathy—Choose the side of this momentous question which you approve, but having done so, speak out boldly—Let the law of Solon be placed before the eyes, and treasured in the breast of every one of you, that when the liberty of your country is in danger, the man who remains neuter, deserves to be infamous.

AN ULSTER MAN.

A PROPHETIC FRAGMENT.

He seemed
For dignity composed and high exploit,
But all was false and hollow.

AND in those days there shall appear a youth, tall of stature and not of ungoodly appearance, who will derive his birth from one country, his religion from another, and his politics from a third—and he will offer himself a candidate to represent a great and respectable province, in the kingdom where he was born—and he will declare even *before his beard is grown*, that the first object of his ambition is to be returned for it—and he will tell openly that he will pay all due deference to the opinions of his constituents, and to the dictates of his own conscience, and all the people will wonder exceedingly, and many of them will believe him—and he will go to the first great meeting of the Northern Whigs in the town yeilded Belfast, and he will entreat to be enrolled a member of their body, and he will sign with his own hand all their papers:

He signed his place, and calling in full seeming
With meekness and humility; but his heart
Was crammed with arrogance.

And the members will take great delight in this youth, and some of them will enter into subscriptions to support him in his election—and many of the people of Belfast will wonder exceedingly, and Samuel Neilson himself will believe him—

For neither man nor angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible, except God alone.

And he will stand on the hustings, in the great city of St. Patrick, on the first day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord, 1790, (it being the first day of the poll,) and in the presence of that great and independent county he will take its *test*—and the people will be much pleased therewith, and will enquire whose son the stripling is—and Robert will answer, I am the son of Robert, thy old and faithful servant: And during the continuance of the poll he will proclaim a great feast, to celebrate the memory of the immortal William—and he will invite all the princes, and the governors, and the sheriffs, and the counsellors, to make merry on the occasion—and he will take the chief place of the entertainment—and will speak in words of high praise of the venerable Charlemont, and then give his health together with that of the *glorious Volunteers of Ireland*, and the people will wonder much—and the princes, and the governors, and the sheriffs, and the counsellors, will wax glad—and the young patriot will dwell in sweetest accents on the character of *Grattan*, and his *illustrious friends in parliament*, and drink their healths—and he will drink disgrace and infamy to the *bribers* and the *bribed*—and he will expatiate with exceeding great delight on the independence of our parliament, and will drink *prosperity and everlasting independence to Ireland*—and the people of those days will wonder exceedingly and believe him—and in the warmth of his heart, he will anticipate the doctrines of Thomas Paine, and drink *equal liberty to all mankind*—and he will drink *all the Whig Clubs of Ireland and the Whig interest all the world over*—and to fill up the measure of his country's love, this young Belial will drink a toast, which the name of Mr. Fox will make long remembered, *our Sovereign Lord the People*; and what is very marvellous he will not be drunk—and he will, at the end of the sixty eight day's poll, be returned for that great and respectable county—and will publish an advertisement, and will thank his elders for their noble, virtuous, and independent support—and he will say in this manifesto, *I love the cause of the people, I revere the constitution, and I will maintain and defend both with the ardor of affection, which a youthful heart dictates, and which your generous confidence demands*—and the honest people will wonder exceedingly, and say Amen, Amen.

(To be continued.)

Continuation of the Portraits, Designs, and Drawings
for the Exhibition of the *fine Arts* in Foster place.

THE *Speaker* of the House of Commons in the character of *St. Patrick*, frightening every reptile, and banishing *snakes in the gross* from the presence of *Hibernia*, who fondly looks at him with a strong expression of gratitude and admiration!

N. B.—*A charming picture, coloured on porphyria, elegantly framed, but not guilt*, nor to be purchased at any price, but placed conspicuously to decorate this exhibition and excite emulation in the country.*

Sir John Parnell in the character of *Atlas*, supporting with *one hand*, the superincumbent weight of *Great Britain*, and with the other, *Ireland*, against the world.

N. B.—An athletic full length figure, displaying muscular strength with firmness, *done up in cast metal*, and not for sale; but like the former, sent as an ornament to the exhibition.

Lord C——— in the character of *young Phaeton*, at the moment he has set the globe in flames, and forced from *opposition* to give up the reins to the fiery coursers, which hurl him down the precipice!

N. B.—*In the back ground groupes are discovered, some putting spokes, and others knaves, in the wheels of the carriage, to prepare him for the journey, and many hammering their brains to make the disjointed fellows meet.*

Johns Barrington, Esq. in the character of *Neptune* keeping *Ireland afloat*, and putting in *his oar* (which happens to be of *silver*) by way of trident, tracing the *land marks*, and pointing out the *channel*, which keeps the two islands (though united by friendship) distant from each other. In water-colours, and yet a very glowing picture.

Sir J———e, in the character and drapery of a Swiss Colonel. Motto, *point d'argent, point de Suisse!* MONT BLANC in the back and fore-ground.

N. B. *This is a winter piece, both as frigid and unmelting as the original! It was sold to the Castle many years ago, and has been handed down as an heir loom to all the successors of that mansion.*

A well-known Irish Naval Captain, in the character of *Ben the Sailor*, in Love for Love, comforting *Hibernia*, (who is represented in tears) in his usual way, with a quid of tobacco in his mouth, and with one of *Ben's* sayings turned into Greek, to shew his learning, viz.

Θημωρ ευχρησθη Οηλιασ ευπισο

N. B. *A piece of ordnance supporting him, and the whole painted on canvas.*

Sir B———e R———e in the character of Captain *O'Blunder*, or the *Brave Irishman*, shewing how John

Bull and Sheelagh, could form a *natural Union*, by *making both ends meet*, without coming to extremities.

N. B. This respectable Milesian figure, in bronze, has for a long time ornamented the Castle, and is to be seen on *state days*.

ERRATA—* for GUILT read GILT.—† For KNAVES read NAVES.

WILLIAM PITT,

RAT-catcher to the King's most excellent Majesty, informs the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, that he has established an Office in Dublin, near Castle-street, for the sale of his much-admired TRAPS; which, tho' not an entirely new invention, have been much improved on by him, since he commenced business. He can refer the Public to several eminent characters—some in the law department—some few of the judges—some commissioners of the revenue, and some of the *paving board*, for their usefulness and efficacy in securing rats. They must be set in *warm places*.

N. B. They are not only *tipped* but *baited* with gold.

SPECTACLES FOR ALL AGES!

THE world is fully in possession of the great aid science has derived from the improvements of HER-

SCHHEL in the powers of magnifying glasses—but we are happy in communicating to the public, that there are now in town a company of celebrated Opticians, whose glasses far exceed, in MAGNIFYING powers, those of Herschel. On a LATE EXPERIMENT made by Messieurs NOXTUS and MARESCHAL, pupils of the celebrated SIEUR REAGH, they have clearly demonstrated that their glasses magnify in a ratio of 46 degrees more than Herschel's.

A PORTRAIT IN PERSPECTIVE.

THE A—G—in the character of Sir John Falstaff, at the moment he is dismissed by the Prince of Wales. The scene is taken from the second part of Shakspere's Henry 4th, where Hal. says—

*Reply not to me with a fool-born jest;
How ill grey hairs become a fool and jester.*

A portrait in perspective is a new experiment; but though the scene appears distant it has a good effect.

EPIGRAM.

THE rumour of Billy Pitt having a *Son*,
Has caus'd in this country a great deal of fun;
To think with good help he can't *breed*? is all stuff,
The *Union* and *He* will *breed mischief* enough.

Dublin: Printed by James Poore, 45, College-green.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19. 1799.

No. XXIV.

TO THE
PEOPLE.
OF
Ireland.

quis enim jam nom intelligat artem.

REV. SAT. 4.

THAT the endeavours to reduce this kingdom to the most abject state of helpless subordination to Great Britain, which have been lately made, and those which are still threatened to be attempted, sprung from no sudden impulse, or temporary cause, is too obvious to be doubted of by any man. It is now plain, that all the councils which have directed, and all the transactions which have taken place in Ireland for a series of years past, have been bent (so far as the British minister could incline them) with a tendency to accelerate the attainment of this object. It would, undoubtedly, be a speculation curious in its pursuit, and useful in its end, to investigate and develop the injurious policy of those councils, and pernicious progress of those transactions, so far as the interests of Ireland were involved in them; curious, as opening the book of national ambition (perhaps depravity) to the eye of philosophy; useful, in inculcating the necessity of national harmony for the preservation of national liberty. But this is an enquiry not properly within the present design of this paper; beside, although the distemper which afflicts this country is, in its distemper, chronic; yet, as it now suffers under a violent paroxysm, however alteratives are necessary to work a radical cure, medicines more expeditious in their effects must be administered to meet the present attack.

It is natural to the human mind, when apprehensive of a great evil, to apply itself to the removal of that which brings the objects of its fear nearest to the view, rather than of that, which being less obtrusive, though more dangerous, might be in reality more likely, eventually, to inflict it. Thus, though there may be, and I have no doubt are, many causes much more likely to super-induce upon my country the complicated ills of that detestable measure, which it is the avowed intention of your paper to ward it from, yet, the speech of Mr. Pitt, the prime minister of England, lately delivered in the parliament of that kingdom, obtains an involuntary

precedence of them all, and occupies my thoughts incessantly. I have read it with that anxious care which a deep interest in its subject must necessarily beget, and thought I found in it little but assertions unsupported by proofs, facts grossly mistated, deceitful prospects artfully exhibited, subtleties sophistically reasoned upon, threats formidable in sound, but dangerous in reality, indirectly held out, and certain injuries cautiously endeavoured to be hid from view. 'Tis true, though these seemed to be the distinguishing characteristics of this speech, yet they appeared dressed out with consummate ability, almost irresistibly impressive where it was delivered, but little calculated to convince the reason of a thinking Irishman. Thus it struck me, and with this idea of it I should have remained undaunted with respect to its consequences, but observing the administration which had undertaken the imposition of a yoke upon this nation, sedulous in distributing it at the public expence, as one of the instruments they intended to employ in their work. Seeing the money of the people squandered in the publication of a speech, which argued in *another country only, or on one side* of a question which involved the dearest interests of this. Seeing that administration open the national purse, not to relieve the national distress, but to endeavour at warping the national judgment, I began to fear the means were better adapted to the end than they appeared to me to be, and that kind of alarm seized upon my mind which is great in proportion to the incomprehensibility of the danger. Further reflection has recalled my courage, and I now mean to address one or two letters to you, containing such remarks upon the different parts of this speech as have been either least obviated already by others, or which may appear in a different light from that in which it was viewed by them.

The insidious fallacy of Mr. Pitt's assertion relative to the divisions in our House of Commons on the question of the Union, has been so ably and sufficiently exposed in your 21st number, that it would be worse than superfluous to dwell on that now—I therefore pass it over.

* Mr. Pitt urges in favor of his measure the internal treason which ravages this country, but there are two circumstances respecting this subject which he has altogether omitted to consider. He has not mentioned the causes—the true and genuine causes of that treason; nor has he proved, or indeed attempted to prove, that the adoption of an Union would be the *only* means of curing, or would at all remove it. Mr. Pitt has not touched upon the political history of this country for

* Page 11 of the printed Speech.

some years past, which would exhibit the governors of Ireland irritating and inflaming every subdivision of the people one against the other; would show them pursuing the most discordant and contradictory systems of administration; would hold them out as never suffering any plan of internal regulation to be followed to completion; would stigmatize them as using all endeavours to render the parliament contemptible in the eyes of the people; would point at them as playing on the hopes and fears of different religious sects, carefully balancing, and diligently opposing them. He has cautiously avoided himself, and studiously averted the eyes of his hearers from looking on the page which might present such damning truths to the view. It was therefore hid from his English auditors—but not so with my heretofore infatuated countrymen—they are beginning to read it with attention, even though they behold it with detestation; but they find in it the road to the only Union necessary to the happiness of Ireland. Why Mr. Pitt dwelt upon the efforts, but never went in search of the causes, it would be unnecessary to enquire—it is obvious. Why such causes were established, or such efforts flowed from them, perhaps he would tell; and we might guess surely, however this may be, that man must be either wilfully blind, or incorrigibly stupid, who does not discover at once both the drift and the turpitude of the measure now passing within the sphere of his observation. Is it the suggestion of fear, or the creation of fancy, that rebellion is kept alive by the extension of every hope of impunity to the traitor; that mid-day murder and open robbery stalk through the land, unchecked and unobserved, to any other intent than as they might tend to produce their portion of dismay and submission; that devastation scatters horrors under the very eyes of the inactive garrison. If these things have any real existence, must not the man, who observes them, ask, whence they arise and wherefore are they? But Mr. Pitt is content to argue upon matters just as he finds them. It would divert the course of his prescience too far, if he cast a retrospective glance beyond the period of French attempts on this country; a prescience which he exercises, not like Cassandra, for we know the source of his inspiration too well to doubt the veracity of his predictions. He has foretold events, and we must believe him—mark his prophetic words: **“But if struggles of this sort may and must return again, if the worst dangers are those which are yet to come, dangers which maybe greater from being more disguised.”* Read the scroll with awful attention, for it is stretched to you by an arm clothed with power. Receive the prophecy with fear, for the certainty of its accomplishment is ensured by the former works of the prophet. Precipitate yourselves, to avoid the consequences of the dreadful denunciation, into the gulph prepared for you, which like the grave, will shelter you from all human evils, for the oracle tells you, thus *only* you can escape the horrors

of its fulfilment. But let me coolly ask, is this an argument capable of persuading Irishmen to the surrender of every thing estimable to them nationally considered, or can Mr. Pitt's mere assertion, *that it is so*, convince their reason that a legislative Union with Great Britain, is the *only* thing within the range of human events which can render them peaceful, flourishing, and happy? Is there a man in this kingdom capable of observation, who may not satisfy himself, that a great portion of the dissensions which have distracted this country, and which now distract it, may be traced to the policy of the British cabinet? If so, must he not see that a British minister, arguing on these dissensions, (without adverting to their causes,) in support of any favored scheme of his own, reasons on the ill effects of facts occasioned in a great measure by himself, and thus endeavors contrary to every principle of justice, to take advantage of his own wrong. Must he not see that the very existence of such dissensions, so caused, is one of the strongest possible proofs that that measure is not the only cure for them, to enforce the adoption of which they were in reality inflicted, and that so far from being a remedy for the distemper, that to arrive at it was the cause of the complaint? Must not the result of his conviction then be, a determination not to be duped by arts so long successfully practiced to the rendering him the instrument of national distractions, which may be so ingeniously converted into arguments against himself?

§ Mr. Pitt dwells long on the necessity of the connexion between these kingdoms. The subject well deserves it. It is of such importance, that sure I am, there is no man in this country, who merits the name of Irishman, who would not willingly resign every thing worthy of estimation to preserve it. Even the horrors of the year 1798, prove the fact—proudly prove it. From the inestimable value of that connexion, however, he endeavors to establish another argument of fear in favor of his plan; and here, let me observe generally, that the pervading complexion of all his arguments, intended to influence this country, takes the deadly hue of fear: A colour which they certainly very naturally acquire from the means used to give them birth. But different, far different indeed, is the conclusion, that the mind of Mr. Pitt, in truth and reality, draws on this subject, from that which he would impress upon us as the result of his own reasoning: He knows that the immense value of the thing is the best guarantee of its duration—He knows perfectly well that it is so manifestly, not only the interest, but indeed the very means of existence of both countries, no separation can ever be seriously apprehended. I fear not to assert that this connexion is the means of existence to *both* countries: For the proud pre-eminence of Great Britain, among the nations of the earth, rests more on the connexion between these countries, than it is here necessary to investigate: A pre-eminence, which she has gloriously exerted in order to erect an

Asylum for liberty, and maintain the freedom of Europe, and while she has experienced it, may she never forget it. He knows no desire of separation will ever arise in the heart of any man in either kingdom, sufficient to create a just ground of alarm, while the natural safety of both forbids it. But either fondness for this favorite object, the natural desire of a British minister to relieve his own country at the expence of this, the pressure of the embarrassments great exertions have caused in Great Britain, the ambition of domination, the fancied glory of achieving the exploit, or some unexplored motive, prevents him either from seeing, or induces him to shut his eyes wilfully against the admission of two facts, or indeed what is much more likely, knowing that they would injure his argument, he intentionally suppressed them. The first is, that if ever the relative situation of the two countries should be so altered, as that mutual interest should proclaim their separation, (an event which most certainly is beyond the reach of human penetration to discover even the most distant probability of its occurring) no legal bond of Union will be of the smallest efficacy in comparing them together: until such an incalculable change of affairs takes place; and while both possess and prize national liberty, they will act in concert from the strongest of all possible motives, the actual safety of both. The other is, that if ever the power of oppression of the one over the other should be vested in either, the probability is, that the possession of such a power, will beget in the nation exposed to oppression, even though it should not be exerted, the desire of separation, and that, although the safety of both should be sacrificed in its indulgence. That a legislative Union with Great Britain would expose Ireland to the possibility of such oppression, is capable of demonstration, and is indeed admitted by Mr. Pitt himself, who argues on the improbability of its ever being exerted, and the little reason Ireland has to apprehend it, from the tried magnanimity of Great Britain in other and similar cases. Thus, I am certain that a separation would be much more likely to be offered by an United legislature, than from Ireland's retaining the independence of her's, and that Ireland now enjoys a in greater degree the advantage of a fear in Great Britain, that an attempt at oppression might be fatal to both nations, the means of repressing injury in its first approach, and a certainty of securing to herself advantages, which though the deprivation of them possibly might not compel her to a disruption from Great Britain, yet the possession of them may contribute materially to her prosperity, which altogether give a stability to her connexion with Great Britain, far more powerful than any bonds of compact, or articles of Union, could by any possibility bestow; and place the idea of separation far beyond the limits of reasonable apprehension.

HIBERNICUS.

WANTED, about 220 hearing trumpets for all the members of the H— of C—, except Sir H— C—, that they may be able in future to discern all manner of noises in the gallery.— N. B.—The new P—e S—t being accustomed to listen, and expert at over-hearing, may be excused the use of a trumpet.

Wanted, a bag, a few law books, a case of pistols; and a few other cases in point for the new P—e S—t.

Wanted, crumbs of comfort for such expectant commissioners as cannot be immediately supplied with places, and are at present much chop-fallen.

Wanted, a school-master for the treasury bench. Capt. P— might procure a cast one from the navy: He must understand accounts for the sake of the new C— of the E— and the young candidate commissioners. The new chairman must learn from him to read out; and the Secretary to "Speak plain."

From the HERALD'S OFFICE, Feb. 15, 1799.

THE Dublin Herald at Arms (though in this single point he differs from Sir C—r F—) is of opinion, that the new peers to be made in consequence of their support given to the minister on a late occasion, ought to carry the battoon or mark of bastardy on their escutcheons as not being true born Irishmen. He begs to refer them to Mr. Canning and the editors of the Sun, who will furnish them with supporters gratis. For their crests he thinks for many reasons they should take a viper;— and as for mottoes, he says, they may find them any where, such as

"Dedecorum pretiosus emptor."

"Vendidit hic auro patriam," &c. &c.

Plus aloes quam mellis habet.

OF all the industriously idle methods of killing time, invented by the indolent, there are few more indicative of hopeless laziness than that of chusing out the relief of a newspaper by reading it cross-wise. I am an idler by profession, and have tried all the expedients to render myself a match for this Bald Old Gentleman that have been tried by others, not being ingenious enough to strike out any new ones. Among these, that I have just mentioned is my favorite, I have been at it lately, and am lucky enough to recollect that I may gain some minutes from the enemy by writing down the productions of my ennui. Here they are,

Several other members spoke in favor of the Union
—They declined calling any witnesses to their characters.

A dreadful fire lately broke out in the House of —
—to which he insisted the Noble Lord was accessory.

“A more injurious measure never was proposed—
—Counsel for the prosecution—The Prime Serjeant.

We hear that a great law officer of the crown—
—will be sold either together or in parcels.

“Never was there a baser or more detestable hireling
N. B. In zoology this is the boot of Bellonius and Ray.

It is said that a certain colonel of Militia lately appointed
—He would be a Soldier, a Comedy. Grown gentlemen taught to dance—a print.

Whereas, attempts have been lately made to seduce—
—The legal representatives of Mrs. S. Ireland.

The owners, or proprietors, or persons seized of the
lands
—will soon take their departure for another kingdom.

It is expected that the levees at the castle will exhibit
—complete sets of trepanning and amputating instruments.

The public are hereby cautioned against employing—
—my Cook turned off for want of cleanliness.

The largest sum ever paid in any scheme
—All necessary information given at the Secretary's office.

Ordered upon a motion of the Right Hon. the Attorney General
—A new edition of Joe Miller with additions of his own.

And Mr. D—n's arguments were strongly enforced
by—
—A very large quantity of old port and excellent claret.

On which a considerable sum of public money has
been expended
—Given gratis at Mr. Grierison's, printer to the King.

We have been credibly informed that a Noble Secretary—
—“He was despised and rejected,” in the most feeling manner.

A son and heir to the great joy of that antient family
—N. B. He never stood charged with the said offence.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PR ICE 2D.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1799.

No. XXV.

" You may please to remember that in the old law they were forbid " to sucke a kid in his mother's milk"; of which the received interpretation is, that we should not use that to the destruction of any creature, which was intended for its preservation.

WALLER'S Speech on the Imp. of Just. Crawley.

GENTLEMEN,

THE following historical memoire, relating to the revolution of Switzerland, forms a curious contrast to that of Mallet du Pan on the same subject. I have taken the trouble of translating it from the French, and if you see in it a parallel to any other country, or think it may be useful or amusing to the public, you are heartily welcome to the fruit of my labour.

AN ANTI-JACOBIN.

THE Republic of Switzerland had long preserved the federal Union which connected its cantons, and from some recent extension of constitutional privilege, its commerce, manufactures, and civilization, had experienced an unexampled encrease. The generous policy of a powerful neighbour, pleased at the advances of this inferior state, determined to promote its prosperity, and encourage its growth. Influenced by the kindest and most disinterested intentions, the great nation had used every endeavour to acquire a paramount ascendancy in the counsels of Switzerland, and at length obtained the entire direction of her affairs. The happy effects of this benign and salutary influence would have been apparent to every eye, had not the malignity of these natives, whom France in her wisdom excluded from power, misrepresented her designs, and calumniated her character. These men actively and insidiously perverted all her motives: Her kindness they called oppression, her generosity selfishness, and her magnanimity ambition. That wholesome restraint which for a considerable time she deemed it necessary, as well for the morality as the happiness of Switzerland, to impose on its commerce and its laws, was preposterously misinterpreted into the jealousy of a domineering spirit; and it was even said that the voluntary and gratuitous bounties of the great nation were the reluctant concessions of rights which she would otherwise have been compelled to acknowledge. It may easily be imagined that the clamour of these demagogues had much effect upon the unenlightened minds of the natives, and frequently obstructed the plans which France had formed for the improvement of Switzerland. Indirect interference became at length insufficient for the benevolent purposes of the mighty republic, and she re-

solved by an effort of kindness, hitherto almost unknown to nations, to fold the infant state in her embrace, and cherish it into maturity, to participate with it her nourishment and communicate to it a portion of her strength. This disinterested kindness was received with rapture and gratitude by every virtuous inhabitant of Switzerland, and undismayed by the corrupt violence of those who opposed the measure, the high-minded patriots laboured with enthusiasm to procure the extinguishment of their country in an incorporated Union with France. A rancorous conspiracy existed in one canton, which threatened destruction to the federated state—animosities proceeding from religious distinctions alienated the minds of one sect from another—the lower classes of society sunk in poverty, which their peculiar situation precluded them from even the hope of surmounting, were naturally indolent; and their passions and understandings, untamed and untought by the arts of civilized life, had often been successfully worked on by the designs of unprincipled politicians. The cause and the means of redressing all these grievances could not long remain concealed from the true friends of Switzerland, and they did not hesitate to impute the former to the existence of a federal, and seek for the latter in an incorporated Union with France. History will record as one of the anomalies in the character of man, that a blind attachment to antiquated forms, and the other delusions which deceive weak minds, induced many of the natives, in whose hearts prejudice had usurped the place of patriotism, to imagine that all these evils were either inseparably connected with human nature and human constitutions, or were the proper objects of municipal law. Some there were who in their folly even deplored the humbled pride of their country, and in the frenzy of their indignation, frequently repeated the empty and childish expressions of national freedom, national independence, as if so poor and contemptible a state could pretend to a distinct and independent existence, or that it must not receive infinitely greater honor by subservience to that people whose fame is unbounded, and whose commerce extends to the extremities of the earth, than from the ludicrous boast of its constitutional liberty.

The vigilant and active benevolence of France, had placed in the public offices of Switzerland, certain clerks, who to unspotted integrity added profound erudition and every excellence of literary talent. This class of men, to whom venality or profligacy of principle could not be imputed, who never sold their services to the highest bidder, or employed their pure pens in the drudgery of corrupt masters;—these immaculate citizens of the world, who nobly preferred the interest of a foreign country to the illiberal advantage of their own, were indefatigable

in illuminating the public mind. Regardless of the military force which France had provided to secure the happiness of Switzerland, this race of intellectual beings employed the gentler but not less effectual weapons of solid sense, refined argument, and all the fascinations with which wit, fancy, and imagination make reason irresistible;—their efforts were aided by the generous exertions of the French ministry, who even condescended to deliver harangues in the Council of Five Hundred, for the single purpose of printing and distributing them in immense numbers at the national expence, to reclaim the barbarism and enlighten the darkness of the Swiss. These admirable productions in demonstrating the benefits which Switzerland must derive from the incorporation, in wealth, constitution, and manners, united all the embellishments of persuasive eloquence with the precision of mathematic certainty.

The commerce of the Switzers, which formerly was fettered with such restraints as commerce cannot endure, had recently obtained a freedom of intercourse with the rest of the world almost unlimited, and which in the course of time, from the natural advantages of the country, might lead to national wealth. The flocks of that pastoral people produced abundance of wool, and their fields favourable alike to pasture, and the cultivation of flax supplied the necessities of other countries, and even of France with provisions and linen, which many of the peasantry had acquired expertness in manufacturing. But France, from that scrupulous care of inferior states, which always distinguished her counsels, for a long time declined not only to permit the importation of the Swiss woollen manufacture into her market, but also prohibited the exportation of the raw material from Switzerland to other countries. This restriction, with the many others imposed by France, on the commerce and industry of Switzerland, was founded on the eternal principles of immutable justice. It could not escape the foresight of France how ill mankind can bear sudden prosperity, how apt the acquisition of wealth or power is to intoxicate and derange the human understanding, and how rapidly the influx of riches would change the simple and innocent character of the contented Swiss peasant, into that compound of meanness and vice, the citizen of a wealthy and commercial nation. So far, therefore, as depended on France, the doctrines of the sage Rousseau were strictly observed, and the virtuous pleasures of a state of nature were not exchanged by Switzerland for the depravities of civilization.

But the humane efforts of France were vain, the trade of Switzerland became free, and a traffick with other countries, which unluckily was too successful, debauched the national morality, and wealth and all its consequent train of evils were making a fatal progress among this unfortunately prosperous people. France saw with sorrow that the deadly career of cultivation could not be checked, and that since she could not restore Switzerland to its former state of innocence, it was her duty to regulate the commerce of that country so as best to secure

the happiness of its inhabitants. Since pastoral felicity was no longer to be their lot, the great nation took care that they should not feel the anxieties which attend the progress from poverty to riches, or sustain the struggles by which that end is generally accomplished. With this view France proposed incorporation, that the existence of the two nations might be identified, that her treasure might circulate through every limb of the consolidated republic, to make her interest the interest of Switzerland, her prosperity its prosperity, her power its aggrandizement. With what an impenetrable veil does commerce shroud the minds of its votaries! Can it be believed that even this prodigal generosity of France found opponents among the traders of Switzerland? Active and indefatigable to invent some plausible ground of resistance, they at last stood on that article of the treaty of incorporation, which subjected Switzerland to an equal share in the future general taxation. Their narrow minds were incapable of conceiving the motive of France in introducing this stipulation, they could not see that the contributions of Switzerland were beneath the attention of the mighty republic, and that the pitiful revenue of so poor a country was required only to make the treaty appear reciprocal, and as nominal *quid pro quo*, to give stability to the bargain. The other objections which issued from this restless body of men were no less frivolous: "We surrender the free constitution of our country," said they, "and what have we to gain?—our local situation cannot be changed—you cannot give our country population, or our people industry—we cannot expect from your merchants or manufacturers a liberal conduct, because they have always discouraged our advancement—are we to look for a sudden and magical change from illiberal jealousy to an open participation of mercantile advantage? And even if you were sincere, the relative condition of the two countries makes such a change impossible:—Indolence and poverty cannot contend with enterprize and wealth, and without a capital the Swiss adventurer must be extinguished even in his own market." How obvious and satisfactory was the answer! "When the interests of the two countries come to be identified, their commercial gains shall no longer be distinct, it will be like a poor trader uniting himself to a wealthy ferme, and although no individual Swiss may attain riches from the measure, yet the nation, as being part of the great republic, will become enriched, and laws cannot descend to notice the advantage of individuals. But added to this, the direct import trade of the towns most remote from France will increase exceedingly, while these nearest to her will supply by canals the whole nation with articles of foreign commerce, which may be so easily conveyed from France, and thus the import trade being more than trebled the prosperity of the people (which has no dependence on its export trade) will be advanced in an incalculable degree.* Add

* Mr. Sampson has in his pamphlet applied a similar train of close and conclusive reasoning to this country—page 40.

to these advantages, that not only will the produce and manufactures of France be facilitated in their importation and sale in your market, but no sooner shall Switzerland be raised to a level with the great nation, than the French merchant shall abandon his counting-house and his connexions, the French manufacturer transport his machinery, the French farmer desert his land, all of them cast aside their national prejudices and carry with them their capital, and people the towns and fertilize the plains of happy Switzerland. Then shall the dreams of poets be realized in that terrestrial paradise, all its mountains shall be mountains of gold, all its vallies vallies of diamonds, and Switzerland alone shall boast the possession of seas of milk and ships of amber." This demonstrative reasoning convinced multitudes: A few whom nothing could satisfy remained in darkness: "Oh!" said they, "you held out similar hopes to Holland, and no sooner had she embraced you as a sincere friend than she found you faithless; if you violated the treaty of incorporation with the Dutch how can we commit all our concerns to your honour?" Insensibles! not to perceive that the true security of political contracts is the mutual advantage to be derived from them, that the validity of such a convention always implies that no superior benefit can be derived from its violation, and that the generosity of France (in the gratification of which she feels more delight than riches can bestow) on the one hand, and the true interest of Switzerland on the other, are the real guarantees of such a treaty. Did it follow as a fair argumentative consequence, that because France found it expedient to amend some of the articles in the Dutch treaty, she could by possibility find it necessary to adopt the same conduct towards Switzerland?

In that country the advocates had always been common subjects for the contempt and ridicule of the people, on account of their ignorance, and sordid, ungentlemanlike manners. It was a ludicrous and proverbial remark among men of education that the advocates were "*doctorum hominum indoctissimum genus*." The members of this base body, attached only to their own narrow interests, resisted the welfare of their country, under the flimsy pretence of a regard to ancient forms, and from them proceeded most of the objections both as to the legality and the policy of the incorporated Union. These bigots had the audacious folly to declare that a legislative assembly, deputed for the purpose of enacting laws, had no power to destroy the franchise of the body by which they were delegated, and by preventing the existence of future distinct legislative bodies, subvert the constitution of which they were appointed the guardians. This absurd doctrine was countenanced by the obsolete books of their law, but received an immediate answer from the voice of reason;—the very nature of a representative legislature demonstrated the omnipotence of the delegated body, for in the very act of electing the representative the constituent plainly and unequivocally surrenders his rights and his understanding, and the rights of his posterity to the discretion of the person

he has chosen; and although the senator may forget that some duties are owing to the mass from which he came, yet these are entirely voluntary; and his power, to which the constitution assigns no definite limit, is therefore unlimited, and extends to the privilege of uprooting the constitution itself. But on this topic the argument of a Dutch representative, whose generosity was equalled by his inflexible integrity, was most convincing. How ridiculous, said he, for so contemptible and weather-beaten a state as Switzerland to reject what Holland, proud, opulent, disinterested and formidable Holland willingly accepted! This was unanswerable. The arguments on the policy of the measure were no less cogent; and next to the 40,000 standing arguments, were most impressive on the minds of the enlightened Swiss. Is it not a melancholy reflection, said the French writers, that your legislature has long been made the theatre of French faction, and is it not your reproach to have been called, in the tempest of your contests, a puddle in a storm? Will you continue to be torn by these tumults which disgrace, although they characterize all free states? Will you preserve so turbulent an existence? No; rather seek repose in the slumber of death than hold so fretful and feverish a being. This flashed conviction—it was irresistible. It was also with admirable candour and address represented to the religious sect which wanted nothing but a participation of political power, that when the system from which they were excluded should be destroyed, they might obtain those benefits which, during its continuance, it was impossible they could acquire; while to the favored sect the threat was more than insinuated, that if the old system were suffered to remain, the impossibility must inevitably happen, and their ascendancy be prostrated by an universal and equal communication of constitutional privilege. For a long time, however, the understandings of many of the natives remained unconvinced, and the warriors of the great nation enforced the arguments of her politicians. The shades of error fade before the light of reason—France succeeded—Switzerland surrendered her separate existence, and became happy. The change which this glorious event produced in the minds and conditions of men was astonishing. Political and moral doctrines which had long been buried under the oppression of a fanatic religion and illiberal laws revived; and triumphed in the forum of enlightened debate. The adventurous reasoner, untrammelled by superstition, pushed his speculations to the extent of his principles. When men had the fortitude to sacrifice their parent country, and bury her in the bosom of a superior power, the chain with which vulgar morality had bound their conduct was broken, and there was scarcely any act which they formerly held to be criminal that could not, in their new tenets, receive full justification. From what illiberal ignorance, called ingratitude to the country which gave them birth, the transition was easy to the same want of feeling towards the natural parent, and the restraints which the old morality imposed on

their consciences were entirely removed; filial piety, and all lesser duties were abolished, and what the Swiss lost in constitutional freedom, was amply compensated to them in the unbounded exercise of intellectual liberty—the benefits which, in other respects, they have obtained are innumerable. No political faction disturbs their tranquillity; on the contrary, the exactness and order with which the new mode of administering the constitution is conducted, resembles the quiet and regularity of military discipline. The multitude of French troops which swarm in their towns and villages, have added much to the population of that district; and by increasing the consumption of every article of produce and merchandize, they have literally contributed to encourage agriculture, and extend commerce. The wealth of that limb of the consolidated republic is besides infinitely augmented, as well by the export of all the materials necessary for manufacture, as by the import of those luxuries which France sends to the Fiscal, military and municipal officers whom she has stationed there. The treasures of the great nation, lavished in the expences of those whom she appoints to guard the interest of the Swiss, freely circulate through every class of men in that happy country. The manners and morals of the natives have also received wonderful improvement, the former from that refinement and elegance which intercourse with an army never fails to give, the latter from the vigilant superintendance of the soldiery. Thus, time which has verified the predictions of the politicians of France, has refuted the malignant forebodings of her enemies, and all the blessings of liberty, equality, and French fraternity, are plentifully poured upon that fortunate portion of Europe which was formerly Switzerland.—Live the Republic!

The following letters were found after a dinner of the Whig Club, near the head of the table, and J. S. Esq. was in the chair, it is therefore presumed they dropped out of his pocket.

SIR,

I HAVE it in command to desire that you will forthwith procure to the enclosed resolutions the signature of all and singular the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders, of the county of Antrim, and that you will spare neither

exertion, influence, threat, promise, or menaces, in enforcing a proper list of names, as it is of the utmost consequence; and transmit the same forthwith to my office at the Hoziers-hall, or after the hours of business at my apartment in the Lower Castle Yard.

I am

Your most obedient, &c.

ROGER GOWER, Clerk of Hoziers.

To the Sheriff of Antrim.

N. B. Take care you are not counteracted by the M. — of H—t—d, and if force is necessary G— N—t is on the spot.

SIR,

I have the honor of your letter, and have the pleasure to transmit you back the resolution signed by 36 gentlemen and freeholders, most of my own relations, and I am *promised* more signatures, but you know a *promise* in political business cannot always be depended upon. I did not think it prudent to call the county: I judge this the best and most constitutional mode of collecting the public opinion; besides there are near 6000 freeholders, and if there was a meeting many might be talking of independence, liberty, free trade, and such nonsense.

I remain Sir,

Your most devoted humble Servant,
Sheriff of Antrim.

To Roger Gower, clerk of the Hoziers, at his office at Hoziers-hall, or after the hour of business at his apartment in the lower Castle Yard; or in his absence—To J. St—p—s, Esq. Member of the Whig Club.

QUERE—Why is not the word Union in the Antrim address? Answer—Because it was manufactured by the same workman who composed the tract, that kept 220 gentlemen up two whole nights debating on its meaning.

We have received an account of the Toasts drank at the dinner of the glorious 104, who dined at the Strugglers in Cook-street, Sir B. R. in the chair, which shall appear in our next.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1799.

No. XXVI.

TO THE
EDITORS of the ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

THE main argument so largely insisted on by Mr. Pitt, in his speech of Thursday, Jan. 31, is, that the adjustment of 1782, was not final. For this purpose he has cited the authority of our Speaker, not so much with a view of paying respect to that authority, as to fix upon him the charge of inconsistency. Now it appears to me that all his declamation upon this subject, is totally irrelevant; because even admitting for argument sake the case to be as he would represent, this by no means proves the necessity of resorting to an Union, for the purpose of supplying the defects of that system; inasmuch as it is maintained by the Speaker, and a thousand other wise and able men, that proper remedies can be applied to the case, without destroying the independence of our Parliament. If the settlement of 1782 cannot strictly be pronounced final, it at least left very little to be adjusted; and that little of such a nature, as admits fair and amicable negotiation between the Parliaments of both kingdoms. But I will not hesitate to say, that were this even impracticable, the independence of the nation, and the incalculable benefits arising from a resident legislature, acquainted with the character, interests, and temper, of the people whom they represent, would be too great a price for the adjustment of matters now in question. That system, imperfect as it may be, has hitherto worked well; it has effected an unparalleled increase of commerce, wealth, and manufactures, among us. And here we are to look for one of the grand causes of the present attempt. The British Minister begins to look upon these growing interests with a jealous eye. Having weighed down England with an immense debt, and exhausted every scheme of finance for supply, he casts a longing look to the treasury here; and distrustful the liberality of the Irish Parliament, which has never been wanting in this virtue, he would be glad to take the management of the whole revenues into his own hands. Let him beware, however, how he pushes this attempt. With the example of America before his eyes, he must be sensible that no free nation can submit to be taxed by a foreign Parliament. I remember the same offer was made to that great and wise people, which is now held out to us; but they were too enlightened to accept the terms. They laughed at the idea of transporting a few members to England; which

could only, in the first instance, expose their integrity to corruption, and in the next, render their most virtuous efforts unavailing. They did not decline contributing to the exigencies of the empire, but refused to obey the mandates of a tax-gatherer. There is no man acquainted with the character of Ireland, who must not allow her readiness in acts of national justice and generosity. A financier will succeed better in trusting to these qualities, than he can by attempting to steal away and monopolize the public purse.

After citing the arguments and authorities of leading members in both Parliaments, to prove that the system of 1782 was not final and complete, but which have no relation whatsoever to the question of an Union, Mr. Pitt proceeds to shew from experience, its inadequacy to secure the connexion between the two countries, upon a lasting basis. Upon this ground he refers to the instances of the regency and the war. In the first, he says that it was accident alone which secured the identity of the executive power. Were this assertion true, there are persons who might answer, that all the difficulties and embarrassments of such a state of things, would have been justly chargeable upon the British Parliament; for it is conceived by many to be a principle inseparable from hereditary monarchy, that the Heir Apparent of the Crown, should, without dispute, under the unhappy circumstances of the case, have been made Regent; and they consider this principle equally obligatory upon the Parliament of Ireland, with the Act of Settlement. But the assertion is utterly false, and may be confuted by the Minister's own words on that occasion, as well as by the admission of the whole Parliament of England. Mr. Fox had contended for the right without the interference of Parliament. Mr. Pitt insisted upon the authority of Parliament, but at the same time admitted that the Prince of Wales, though denied the right, had yet an insuperable claim to the Regency. Now I ask, after this, can the identity of the executive, on that occasion, be said to be owing to accident? Or would it not rather be thought the strangest accident in the world, if the English Parliament had, after such a declaration in favour of the Prince's claim, thought of any other appointment? But, after all, is not this a matter that could very easily be adjusted, so as to prevent all possibility of difference in future? I am sure to a man of plain understanding, there is no difficulty in the case, whatever may be said by cunning and interested politicians.

The second point to which he refers is the French war; and here, as usual, he opens his rhetorical stores,

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and rings the everlasting changes of sounding words: "Terms," he says, "which once were represented as unmeaning declamation," and which I confess I think so still. Every hour convinces me that the unmeasurable ambition of France (which I abhor as much as any man living) is to be ascribed to this cursed war, and the machinations of the British minister; but whatever may be my private sentiments, the parliament of Ireland have since its first commencement entered fully into the cause; scarce the form of a debate has been maintained upon this subject, although the people without doors shewed an early aversion to its principle, and in the progress great dissatisfaction at its conduct. The alarm then raised by Mr. Pitt is, like many of his others, the mere creature of his own imagination, or to speak more correctly, the fiction of his political cunning—for how stands this question upon constitutional grounds? The king is invested with the power of declaring war; the parliament has no jurisdiction beyond the supplies: From the moment the king of Ireland declares himself at war with France, all his subjects of Ireland are, by the law and constitution, in the same state of war, although the parliament should not concur with his majesty by granting the necessary supplies. I have put the strongest and most improbable case that can be imagined, in order to shew that even here nothing like a dissolution of the connection would take place; the worst that could possibly happen would be, that his majesty must rely upon the British parliament, which approved the war, for those resources which would be refused by the Irish parliament, as condemning the measure; and perhaps some check of this kind would not be amiss to the ambition of the British minister. But in truth, the whole of the objection is merely ideal; no man in his senses who considers the relation of the two countries, can have the smallest apprehensions upon the subject; yet to satisfy the most scrupulous and refining statesman, I am persuaded the parliament of Ireland would consent to set this question also for ever at rest.

But he now advances to the real question, the necessity and benefits of an Union. As a preliminary consideration he enters into a description of the state of Ireland, which, although too highly coloured for truth, is yet in the main unfortunately just: And here I cannot help remarking the strange coincidence between the accounts given on one side of the mis-government of Ireland by Mr. Pitt and his hireling scribbler, and by Mr. Tone, the noted jacobin, on the other. The views of both parties are obvious. One is anxious that we should surrender our independence to France—the other to England. But I trust there is too much spirit and good sense in the country to close with either. She has already repelled one by the courage of her native troops, and the other by the wisdom of her senate: And I am persuaded that with proper vigilance there will always be a sufficient fund of both for an object of such magnitude. What arguments then does Mr. Pitt ad-

vance to shew that this whole fabric of abuses will vanish before an Union, as it were by a touch of Harlequin's wand? As to the claims of the Catholics, when he gets rid of that enigmatical kind of talk which he holds on the subject, and delivers himself intelligibly, I will endeavour to answer him. It is difficult to know what measures he and his hireling scribbler intend to observe with the Catholics between concession and no concession;—but in the midst of all this puzzle I think one thing is plain—that if he can once cajole that body into an approbation of the plan, he will then have ample means in his power of for ever putting an end to Catholic claims. He will at the same time get rid of the question of parliamentary reform, the ladder by which he rose to his present height, and then kicked down. It must be a mighty comfort to both Protestant and Catholic to think, that under that happy system neither of them can budge to alarm the fears or jealousy of the other. This is the true method of restoring content to the nation; and when backed with fifty thousand British troops, cannot fail to produce an entire conviction. Cicero has been praised for the following sentiment—*Pax est tranquilla libertas*: But Cicero was a poor politician, else he must have known that where there is liberty there can be no tranquillity.—And no doubt the vast army in this country will be a great inducement with the British merchant and manufacturer to come and settle among us: for it is well known these men are wonderfully fond of doing their business under the eye of the military, and will therefore flock in multitudes to this great barrack. So that although they have been hitherto rather remiss in coming here to civilize us, and make their own fortunes, notwithstanding the low state of taxation and perfect tranquillity from 1782 to 1793, yet there is every reason to hope the case will be different for the time to come; especially as we may rely on the generosity of the English parliament, who will divert a great part of the trade of that country to this;—in short, Ireland will be rendered such a paradise, that the only danger is of England losing too much by her numerous emigrations;—and thus, as Mr. Pitt justly observes, ample amends will be made us for the continual absence of some hundreds of our first nobility and gentry, (for the exported members will be followed by double or treble their number) and for the want of that superintending care of those gentlemen over their tenants and dependants, which has heretofore been considered as one excellent method of civilization. The non-residence of men possessed of large fortunes in this country is at present one of its most crying grievances; and, were it not for my deference to the overbearing mind of Mr. Pitt, I should think the presence, the attention, the advice, the indulgence, the generosity, and the sympathy of a wealthy landlord would go far in teaching those of humbler rank their duties, in at once civilizing and making them happy. The British minister soars too far above the miseries of our unhappy land to discern their true causes: these lie

much more at hand than he supposes, and never can be removed by his distant remedies of imperial concern and political speculation:—They lie in the excessive price of land and low price of labour, in the want of just sympathy between the rich and poor: in the extravagance of the former which occasions exactions on the latter, and which naturally engenders in them discontent and vexations, in the gross contempt of religion and piety avowed by the higher and descending to the lower orders; in the precarious tenure of the soil by those who have some little property, and in the utter want of all property on the part of the great mass of the people. I might go on with an enumeration of many others, all beyond the jurisdiction of an imperial or any other parliament, whose omnipotence I suppose does not yet extend to the controul and government of the human mind. It would indeed be a glorious task in men of power to set about the correction of these gross abuses, by framing plans of industry and education for the poor, and setting examples to the rich of moderation and indulgence;—and it is the duty of the British cabinet (who unfortunately take much too large a share in government) not to encrease those evils by sowing so very liberally among us the seeds of corruption and dissension. Would they but observe this negative virtue, our island would improve fast in manners and virtue.

I should now congratulate my country upon a declaration made in this speech, but that it appears to convey something of a more dangerous nature than it disavows. Mr. Pitt says, that “to any act of force he should never agree”—I hope and believe not—But when I couple this part of his speech with his conduct upon the wise and constitutional motion of Mr. Sheridan, it is too plain that he designs to resort to every thing, but force, for accomplishing his purpose. Already part of the system has been displayed in the removal of some of the oldest and most faithful servants of the crown in Ireland, and in the determined purpose avowed by the minister of never yielding it up during his life: These measures have been fortunate for this parliament and nation—they call loudly upon both to make the subject a *constant and never failing* TEST of the attachment or indifference of Irishmen to the independence of their native country. It is by such solemn expressions of the public will in the House of Commons, and by the several counties in their elective capacities, that the daring insolence of this minister can be alone restrained, and prevented from setting both kingdoms in a flame; or what other end can be expected from the uncontrouled designs of a man who has the confidence to assert, as he does, that “the whole of it’s (Ireland’s) commercial prosperity depends entirely on the discretion of the legislature of Great Britain, and not on the legislature of Ireland?” What! does he mean that the British parliament can, if they think proper, deprive us of our free trade, or bind us by laws made without the consent of our own Parliament? And does he think that Irishmen will ever resume these badges of

Slavery? Sooner I am convinced would the nation die as one man. Great Britain can certainly regulate her own trade.—She can take off bounties from our manufactures and deny them her market. But has Ireland nothing of this kind in her power?—Let the Minister ask Yorkshire what quantity of woollen goods she annually imports into this country. Let him make similar enquiries from every branch of manufacture in England; and he will soon be convinced how unwise would be the policy of driving a nation, by harsh and exclusive measures, into a system of PROTECTING DUTIES. A brave nation must not be bullied any more than a brave man. The love of peace, and the principle of honor, go hand in hand with both; they will decline nothing proper to maintain the former; they are ready to die in support of the latter.

HAMPDEN.

P. S. Two or three arguments of this speech, viz. the competency of Parliament to make the change; and the Union being the best means of preventing jacobin principles, and French invasion, I have left untouched, these having been fully and ably refuted in several former papers of the Anti-Union, by other hands.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

DINNER at the STRUGGLERS in COOK-STREET.

SIR B—— R——, IN THE CHAIR.

AT six the company assembled numerously—not one of the glorious 104 was absent. The Gentleman who provided the entertainment would take no excuse; some noble Lords and reverend Prelates, were invited as guests. The table was covered with all the delicacies of the season; no expence had been spared, and whoever liked good things, must have been highly gratified. Just as they were about to sit down, a gentleman from W——n entered the room, which occasioned a debate. He confessed he had come in mistake, for that he had set out for the dinner of the 111 at Daly’s, but that the coachman had enquired the way from Mr. A——ll, who directed him to the Strugglers; but that he was not sorry for the accident, and hoped he was welcome. This produced some grumbling; however matters were compromised by his being permitted to dine at a side table, at which he sat down to a fine green goose. Sir B. R—— was kept very busy by the great

demand for calve's head; every one asked for the brains, tho' he assured them he had none, and referred them to the Knight of K——, who seemed, as Sir B—— said, to have something like them at the other end of the table. But this only increased the confusion, for the Knight's dish was only whipped syllabub, to which he helped the company very plentifully. The guests seemed in general highly pleased, and sufficiently hungry, except the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Sergeant, who kept their stomachs for the *removes*. Mr. Al—— was very busy at the *bubble and squeak*, and Sir J. Bl—— was very liberal of a boar's head. It being Lent, the Bishop of M—— was observed to do much justice to a fine dish of fish. He seemed to prefer the *plaices* to the *fishals*. Colonel C——te dined with great simplicity upon a broiled drum-stick; he had a napkin tucked under his chin to save his new regimentals, notwithstanding which we could perceive a few slobbers and *many stains*. Captain P—— carved some ordnance pork, and assured the company he always saved his own bacon. When the second course was taken away, a prodigious fine goose pie was placed in the middle of the table, which they all fell upon at once, and demolished in a moment. The Att——y G——l then with his usual facetiousness said, come boys we will now get our *desert*, and laughed heartily—but they were relished by no one but himself: Every one else looked grave and objected to personal wit—upon which Sir H—— C——n——h spoke to order, and remonstrated upon the indecorum of his learned friend. It was observed that two gentlemen from the treasury, and some others, seemed to have very little appetite and to prefer a grave silence: They seemed to dine there because they could not dine any where else. When the cloth was removed, the B——p of M—— was called on to say grace, but his Lordship had hobnobbed a good deal, and in mistake repeated the *De profundis*, upon which Sir B. R. was observed to cross himself very devoutly. While the wine was putting on the table Colonel C——'s band was called in, and performed all the airs in the *Defenter*.

Sir B. R. then gave several bumper toasts; the first of which was,

May the sister countries become one, and be ever after connected like two brothers.

General C——d——c gave

The A——y G——l and trial by court martial; upon which Mr. Att——y G——l rose and paid a happy

compliment to his brave and learned friend, in which he said that the country could never fall while men of such spirit and honor administered the justice of it.

The P——e S——t gave Lord C——gh, and the *act for securing the freedom and independence of the House of Commons*—with three times three.

The C——q——r of the E——q——r then gave *Sir John Parnell and our absent friends*.—This fall of wit produced universal merriment, upon which the S——t——r G——n——l observed gravely, that it would be carrying the joke too far to drink the toast, and begged leave to substitute

I——c C——r——y and a reform in parliament.

Colonel C——te's health was drank, and may he serve his King as well as he has served his country.

Lord D——gh——e and Lord L——g——le rose at the same instant to give the *D'Oyer Hundred of Cork*: A violent altercation arose which should have that honor, when upon being referred to the chair, Sir B—— determined that each should give fifty of the hundred; upon which Mr. V——de——r rose and said—Mr. C—— man, as I never interfere except in matters of calculation, I humbly submit the hundred should be drank in times ten, instead of three times three: this was instantly agreed to, and many compliments paid to Mr. V.'s financial talents.

Several excellent songs contributed to the festivity of the evening.

Colonel C——te gave in a new stile—

A Soldier I am for the Ladies.

Mr. T——h, who, after dinner was promoted from the side-table, sang, with variations—

*How happy could I be with either,
Were t'other dear charmer away.*

Lord Ty——l——y and Major Bo——t——t sung the favorite duet of—

Say, bonny lass, could you live in a barrack?

The Major's voice is a good second, but his Lordship's a cracked *falsetto*.

Sir John Bl——q——e gave with much feeling,
Money is your friend—Is it not?

Mr. M——t——n who was dressed in Cunnemara stockings as usual, insisted upon singing "God save the King," but tho' he had got the words accurately by rote, he could not get out of the tune of *Erin go bragh*.

The company broke up at one, with the greatest decorum, (Major Sirr and Inspector Shee being in waiting) when Mr. M——rfd——n arrived from the Castle, and paid the bill.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1799.

No. XXVII.

Sunt certi denique fines,
Quos intra citraque nequit, consistere rectum.

THE advocates for the competency of Parliament to enact an Union, boldly assert that their adversaries necessarily run into pure republicanism. I do not feel that such a consequence is fairly imputable to them; but I clearly discern, indeed it is not denied, that the advocates for an Union, are driven to the necessity of maintaining *the competency of Parliament to do every thing which is not physically impossible.*

If by competency such persons mean merely power distinct from right, it is impossible to differ from them. The proposition amounts to this, that Parliament has a power of doing every thing within its power; and is perfectly nugatory and uninstruative.

If they mean that there exists no defined, legal mode, of restraining or resisting the acts of the supreme power, while the constitution exists; I readily subscribe to the *Omni-competency* of Parliament in that sense also. But if they contend that there are no limits set by our constitution to the supreme power, and that it is impossible, without an implied contradiction, to set any such limits, I think it is plain that they confound power and right, and argue as if physical ability, and moral competency, were convertible terms.

Mr. Smith in his pamphlet, page 25, says, "As circumscribed despotism, and limited absolute power are things, of which I find it difficult to conceive an idea, I should think that the authority of Parliament to bind this country to an Union flowed, by inevitable interference, from the principle above cited; and I should smile at their scruples, who declined investigating the utility of a measure, until they should first ascertain whether absolute power was competent to achieve it."

In the passage cited, and indeed from the whole content of his book, it is manifest that he conceives not only that our Parliament, but that the supreme power in every state, must necessarily be invested with a rightful power (all discussion of their physical power is foreign from the subject) to do any act which appears to them to be useful to the community.

Let us try Mr. Smyth's position by some intelligible test. Suppose a number of men having no government or constitution, agree to confer the supreme power upon a senate, for instance; will it be denied that such men may limit the duration of such authority, or establish certain principles, according to which it should govern?

Suppose certain limitations, expressly stipulated and

agreed upon, and that the senate assumes the government, having even individually subscribed the conditions of their appointment, and recognized the limitations of their authority. Between these contracting parties there is no common judge. From the moment the senate is established, it is invested with supreme power. They may commence their career by perpetuating their authority, and violating and annulling all those constitutional barriers which were instituted to restrain them.

Mr. Smith to be consistent, must say, and no doubt, would say, that such a senate would be justifiable in so doing, provided they conceived it to be beneficial to the community which they governed. Now I think it extremely clear, that such a senate would not of themselves, have a right to violate and destroy the constitution of which they were appointed guardians and trustees. The very end of the contract above-stated, was to prevent the exercise of discretion in such a way, and to guard against the possible abuse of the supreme power, by circumscribing the sphere of its operation. But it may be asked, if the legislature so appointed be so limited, is it not misdenominated the supreme power? Does there not result that incongruous monster, circumscribed despotism, or limited absolute power, of which Mr. Smith finds it so difficult to conceive an idea? Perhaps it may be the dullness of my faculties which prevents me from seeing the difficulty of reconciling supreme power with constitutional limitations. Supreme power does not mean to imply omnipotence. It is and must be merely relative. While there does not exist any power equal, or superior, in the constitution, it is justly denominated supreme, and such an epithet may be consistent with many limitations. It should be recollected that in using the word power I constantly mean rightful or justifiable power. Mr. Smith cannot say, that such a senate would have a right to transgress their limits because there is not any sanction in the constitution, or any legal mode of restraining it. He is too sound a moralist to think that every thing is rightfully done which cannot be legally prevented or punished.

I acknowledge that there is not in our constitution, and that there cannot be in any government, any sanction against the violation of such a contract but in the conscience of those who exert the supreme power, and the physical force of those who are the objects of it. When I say this am I preaching rebellion? Am I propagating the doctrines of pure republicanism? Mr. Smith will probably say I am. He will infer it as in page 40, from the assumed right of the people to controul the legislature in certain causes, and from the necessity of leaving to the people the right of determining

whether such a case shall have arisen. The populace (says he in derision) is to resolve itself into a committee of the whole nation, to enquire whether the right of popular despotism has occurred, and by the report of this mob is their title to be ascertained." This is plausible, but is it any more? Is he not arguing away the constitution from dangers and difficulties which must exist under every hypothesis, and from which his unlimited constitutional despotism will not protect us. Hear his own words, page 28 and 29—"Undoubtedly that *absolute* power which the constitution of these kingdoms entrusts to Parliament, will have this physical extent. A Parliament may abuse its sovereign authority; but it does so at the risque of entitling the subject to throw off that government which has become an instrument of oppression, and recur to first principles, to resistance, and insurrection. Parliamentary authority has no limits known to the constitution: by the principles of that constitution it is *boundless*: but it is exercised at the peril of those to whom it is entrusted; and they will be cautious how they commit that extreme abuse, which will constructively subvert the constitution, efface all artificial regulations, and, letting in the paramount rights of human nature, overwhelm the powers of Parliament in revolution."

Does he not then admit in terms that the sovereignty of the legislature may be abdicated by abuse, and who but the people are to judge when abuse shall become so flagrant and outrageous as to entitle the subject to throw off their government? If then it can be consistent with the nature and existence of government that the people (I am no demagogue, yet I do not hate the term) shall retain a right to judge of the abuses of the power admittedly vested in government, and in extreme cases, (of which alone the people can judge) to dissolve that government, why should it be inconsistent with government that they should set limits to its despotic nature, and judge when these limits are transgressed? In my opinion the reservation of the latter right to the people is much less dangerous than the former, in as much as it is easier to decide whether a constitution be subverted, than whether a severe law be not necessary. Will it be said for instance, under our constitution, that the imposition of taxes, intolerable to the people, would justify a resort to what Mr. Smith calls the paramount rights of human nature, but that the transfer of the whole power of the legislature to a single despot, which would imply the utter extinction of all legal right of property, would not justify it? I protest this subject appears to me to be so plain, and simple, that I fear to obscure it by attempting to illustrate it. Man is not absolved from the obligations of morality, or I should hope the influence of conscience; when he becomes a legislator—he is still responsible to God and his conscience. I know Mr. Smith too well not to be convinced that he will not deem it an idle waste of time, to prove that parliament has no right to transgress its limits, even though the question were purely a moral question, and the sanctions lay solely

within the bosom of each individual member of parliament.

Mr. Smith ought to know the distinction between excess and abuse of jurisdiction: The power that exceeds its jurisdiction is wrong, and culpable whatever may be its decision; the same power may be culpable by a bad decision, even when it has a clear right to decide. In the former case it never can be right—in the latter it may be wrong. I have a right to dispose of my own money as I please, yet I may abuse that right, and act against conscience; but I have no right to seize upon and apply the money of another man without his consent, even to the most laudable and salutary purposes; or having received it in trust for one purpose to convert it to another, even though the latter be manifestly preferable to the former. Man either individually or collectively, in whatever character, whether as a subject or a legislator, is not left at liberty to pursue every end which he may conceive to be good, by every means which he may conceive to be expedient. The dominion of God would be invaded by so arrogant an assumption of discretion, and human morals would become the caprice of individuals, or the dictate of tyrants.

I hope it is sufficiently clear, that constitutional limits may be set to the supreme power of a state, which it never can justifiably transgress without the consent of the subject. It remains to shew that such limits are set in our constitution, and that for our parliament to enact an Union would be to transgress them.

I confess it appears to me clear, that to do this I have nothing to do but to shew that we have a constitution; for as I have always understood the term and the thing, they necessarily imply limitation, and I have been accustomed to think that our government has been called and considered a limited government, not so much from its mixed form, as its limited and defined capacity. I can well conceive a limited monarchy, where there are neither Lords nor Commons, though I readily admit that such a system could not long endure; the monarch would either break down the fences against his despotism, or bodies would arise in the state with a view or under the pretence of protecting them, who would gradually acquire a permanent existence, and divide and share the sovereign power.

Mr. Smith asserts in page 43, "that a limitation of the competency of parliament is exactly conformable to the doctrine preached by Payne, and practised by the French;" but if I do not grossly mistake, Tom Payne agrees with Mr. Smith in denying that there is any limitation to the competency of our parliament, and from that false assumption derives the principal topics of his slanderous misrepresentation of a system which he did not understand.

Mr. Smith and the Minister use many arguments from experience, and from supposed absurdities which would follow from the popular doctrine. The limits of this paper will not permit me to follow them in detail; I can only suggest principles, and leave their application

to the public. It has already been fully proved by many writers that the Union with Scotland is the only case that bears any resemblance to the present, and that that case stands distinguished from it in those particulars which most govern the question; but surely when the question is, whether a government be morally competent to do a certain act, it may be a strong fact, but it will be a feeble argument to shew that such things have been done. The moral competency of the supreme power to commit every excess and every abuse under which human nature has ever groaned, might be established by similar reasoning. Such researches may be useful to shew to what degree a people will submit, or tyranny may venture, but they never can alter the nature of truth and justice, or render that right which in principle and reason is wrong.

But Mr. Smith, (with whom the Minister agrees in every particular) if I rightly understand him, would infer the moral competence of the British parliament to do every act upon which they have ever ventured from the admitted validity of the laws which have passed since the changes have taken place, which they have made without the intervention or consent of the people: And if his reasoning at all applies, he would infer from the obligatory force of these laws at present, that the parliament must have been *morally competent* to enact them at their commencement. Amongst various other passages I refer to the following in Mr. Smith's pamphlet, page 23.—“The train of mischiefs which follow this impeachment of the Scotch Union are very numerous. If that incorporation was invalid, what attention, or observance, is due by Scotland to any legislative ordinances which have been made since 1707? How is Britain, how is England, bound by the acts of that unconstitutional assembly, miscalled the British Parliament, which has been sitting at Westminster for the last ninety years? Acts wherein, in one house forty-five, in the other sixteen, *strangers* conspired; and for aught we know, (by constituting the majority) brought them about. What becomes of the force of that act of renunciation, which passed in 1783, and which Ireland has vainly mistaken for the corner-stone of her liberties, and Constitution?”

Now, even though I were to admit that the Scotch Union was imposed upon Scotland without the previous consent of the nation, as is attempted here, and to deny the *moral competency* of the Scotch, or of the English parliament to enact such a measure in such a way, the consequences apprehended by Mr. Smith would not follow. Mr. Smith is a man who not only reads, but reflects; need I ask him whether laws have not often been wrongfully imposed, which have been rightly continued? Need I ask him whether subsequent assent or acceptance may not give validity to systems originally founded in fraud or in force, and does the author of the fraud or the force stand justified by the success of his originally unwarrantable aggression?

I apprehend Mr. Smith's reasoning would tend much

more to undermine our laws than mine, because I am persuaded that many of our most valuable institutions can be traced back to causes and sources which no eloquence or sophistry could justify. I do not assert that a dissolution of government must practicably follow, even from the most violent *excess* or *abuse* of the supreme power; the people may if they please submit to the new order of things which is established, but it appears to me to be perfectly clear that when the supreme power, who are only trustees, think proper of their own authority to displace the constitution which the people acquired, inherited or adopted, or essentially to alter its nature; a moral right, and I will add, a religious duty devolves upon the people to decide whether they will submit to what is substituted, or supply the ruins of their constitution by a new fabric of their own choice. In deciding upon whether they will exert this right, they owe nothing to their governors, who have virtually abdicated their authority; but they owe much to themselves and more to their posterity. They ought unquestionably to weigh maturely the amount of the evil that would probably result from exerting even an unquestionable right; if the exercise of it should be resisted by force; but in making this estimate they should remember the sacrifices which their ancestors have made, and what is due to their posterity. They should bear in mind that there is no evil really heavy and durable that is not of a moral nature, and if the outrage be glaring, and the injurious consequences numerous and heavy, they should not too readily succumb under difficulties and dangers. But if after exerting a moral discretion soundly, they submit to and accept the new system which is chosen for them, the new laws which result there from may have obligatory force without violating a single principle which I have asserted. Beside the obligatory force of laws may depend upon other considerations than the fountain from which they *originally* flowed. Length of time must necessarily tend to give validity to institutions to which a people have long submitted, under which property has been acquired and transferred, and from which mutual rights and mutual duties have resulted.

It is said, that the doctrine I lay down will go to the denial of the competency of parliament to enact even the minutest reform in any part of the legislative system. To this I answer, that it is no objection to any system, moral or political, that the exact horizon between right and wrong is somewhat obscure, and that cases might be put, difficult to be decided upon. Laws manifestly calculated to restore and invigorate parts of our constitution, which may have fallen into decay or abuse, even though they somewhat trench upon the forms of that constitution, as it exists in practice, may be justifiably enacted by the supreme power without consulting the people, even according to the utmost rigor of my doctrine.

But we are with more diffidence than fairness asked where are these limitations to be found, and how is the popular sentiment to be collected? They have

sprung from solemn transactions which are recorded in our histories; which have been commented upon, by writers whose works almost every man reads; and some of which are of so momentous and striking a nature, that tradition would have handed them down, if printing had never been discovered.

But these pretended difficulties, cannot, with the slightest colour of fairness, be resorted to upon the present occasion. We do not require that limitation which Mr. Locke I think truly says, necessarily flows from the end and nature of every legislature, namely, that they have no right to transfer the power of legislation—a limitation, which Mr. Smith *modestly* denominates *filly*, and which Mr. Paine, would, no doubt say, does not exist in *our government*, in consequence of its despotic nature.

If ever there was in any country a solemn settlement between the people and their government, and between two nations, it was the establishment of the independent Irish Constitution of 1782. The people of Ireland almost as one man, called upon their Parliament to assert the liberties of the nation, and their own independence; and the British Parliament, by solemn, recorded, and reiterated acts, recognized the justice of our claims; and gave every security which an independent nation can give to another, without the interference and guarantee of some third power, that our separate, independent, legislative right, should never again be invaded or questioned.

It requires the utmost extent of the modern despotic doctrine of the minister, to justify the annulling of such a settlement, without the national consent. In principle our parliament would have the same *moral competency* to depose itself, and transfer its transcendent powers to the British parliament without any mixture of Irish representation; and in practice, in my opinion, it would equally consult the prosperity of Ireland, and much better provide for the liberties of the subjects of the imperial legislature. Is it not equally clear, that the people wish to retain their constitution, as that they were zealous and united in acquiring it? Is this a question upon which any honest man can doubt how the public sentiment is? Shall we be told that the intellect of the nation is for the measure? If it be, and that its advantages are so weighty and manifest, why does not this superiority of intellect convert the nation to its own happiness and prosperity? Is the necessity of carrying the measure, so urgent, that the consciences of our legislators cannot be at rest, until they impose it upon us? That they cannot wait until superiority of talent, enlisted on the side of truth and reason, shall convince the nation? Until the people of Ireland, dull of intellect as they are, and overrun with prejudices, shall learn to despise their patriots of 1782, and become converts to the new patriots of 1799, who have some of them been so miraculously converted themselves? This measure never can be investigated in detail, by the people at large, or all its bearings, civil and commercial,

minutely examined. But there are some of its features too prominent and frightful to be disguised or reconciled to the feelings of Irishmen. All the varnish of Mr. Pitt, cannot conceal, or recommend them. I would send the project forth amongst the people, with no other commentary than his speech, and abide the event. Whatever effects may be produced by his menaces and his bribes, he never can win their affections, and procure their rational assent, by so flimsy a performance as that, which is gratuitously circulated, at its full value.

The nation cannot be influenced by his eloquence or his sophistry; until they believe that power and right are one and the same; that 554 resident members will not totally overbear 100 absentees; that the national prejudices of centuries, will vanish at his command; that virtual dependence will be wealth, altho' actual dependence was beggary; and that to relinquish a system which has been productive of prosperity beyond our most sanguine hopes, is a duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity.

Whenever these things are reconciled to the people, and that they call for the measure, I shall acknowledge the moral competency of Parliament to enact it; but until they do, tho' I may be compelled to submit to the physical force of the British or the Irish government, with which it is contended that their moral competence is commensurate, I never can change opinions founded in the immutable nature of things, and whose final sanctions lie out of the reach of any human power.

V.

TRANSLATION OF VIRGIL'S FOUR
CELEBRATED LINES.

Sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves.

Not for yourselves, ye pigeons, did ye build
Snug nests in town, by bats shall they be fill'd.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves.

Not for yourselves, ye *well-fleec'd* silly yeos,
Ye've frik'd in fields, and worn your pretty clothes.

Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.

Not for yourselves, ye merchants, do ye thrive,
A ruthless hand shall rob your honied hive.

Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves.

Not for yourselves, ye stupid *Bulls* ye plough,
Another *Bull* shall tread the grain ye sow.

Vide *Pitt's* Virgil.

TREBOR.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1799.

No. XXVIII.

Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.

Juv. Sat. 6.

IN my last, I attempted to make some observations on one or two of the arguments used by Mr. Pitt, in his Speech of the 31st of January last, and now mean to hazard a few more remarks upon other points, which he there seemed to have relied upon.

Mr. Pitt argues that the settlement of 1782, was not a final adjustment in itself, nor was it so considered to be, either by the Minister, or Parliaments concerned in effecting it; that danger lurks in the imperfect state of that adjustment; and that there are but two possible methods of removing that danger—Commercial Compact, or Legislative Union. The former having been tried, has failed, and therefore he says nothing can remain but the latter.

As a great personage, to whom this kingdom stands deeply indebted, has lately committed himself on this subject, with Mr. Pitt, one, whose words long since uttered officially in Parliament, as a Minister of the Crown, he has ungenerously, in his absence, but vainly, endeavoured to shew, are contradictory to his present conduct; it will be the less necessary to dwell long upon it, because it is probable it will be much more ably discussed than I can pretend to do.

§ Mr. Pitt says—“ But to call that a system in itself, which was no more than the mere demolition of another system, could only be the effect of great misconception, or great hypocrisy. We boast that we have done every thing, when we have merely destroyed a system, without substituting any thing in its place.” Abstractedly to assert, that the destruction of one system, must mean, *ex vi termini*, the creation of another, most undoubtedly would be grossly absurd. But if the particular case on which Mr. Pitt was reasoning, has no relation to such an abstract proposition, then it was uncandid to insinuate its application. There was no kind of necessity for substituting any thing in the instance before him, in order to create a system, for all that was there requisite, was the removal of an unjust and tyrannical impediment, interposed to prevent the operation of a fair and liberal system, which was pre-existing, and the very act which destroyed that impediment, did of itself revive the system. That a system (applying the word to the point Mr. Pitt was debating) involves the consideration of constitutional and commercial adjustments,

must be admitted. Now, that the radical destruction, of whatever, so long as it existed, rendered the constitution of Ireland a nullity, was a compleat restoration of that constitution, and therefore to all intents and purposes, a final adjustment with respect to constitution; and, that it was so considered by the parties engaged in the settlement of 1782; is not only true in itself, but appears from Mr. Pitt's own shewing. † He says, “ A message was sent to the Parliament of Ireland, recommending the adoption of some plan, for a final adjustment between the two countries, and wishing to know what were the grounds of the grievances of which they complained.” In answer, the Parliament stated as the principal grievance, the power claimed by the Parliament of Great Britain of making laws for them, but were silent as to the measures for final adjustment.” The attainment, the full and final attainment, of a free constitution, was the great object of the Irish Parliament; and when they received a message, directing them to point out the road through which they were to arrive at this, their great desideratum, what does Mr. Pitt say was their conduct? They stated *that* grievance, the existence of which kept their constitution in abeyance, and were silent as to any thing further. And why silent? Because most obviously they understood themselves, and meant to convey as their answer, that the removal of the grievance then mentioned, was tantamount, *per se*, to a plan for a final, constitutional adjustment. Is it possible to devise any other cause for a silence on a subject that implicated every important consideration in the very thing they had used such exertions to obtain, which they were then desired to mark out, and which they knew could not then be withheld from them. This answer was taken as sufficient to the thing recommended by the British Parliament, who had received a similar message, and they repealed the act complained of; thus acquiescing in the idea, that removing the grievance which kept the constitution of Ireland in bondage, was adopting a plan for a final adjustment, so far as constitution was involved between the two countries. § But he says, “ An address to his Majesty to take such further measures for strengthening the connexion of these kingdoms, as should seem proper to him, was presented by the British House of Commons.” Whether these additional measures were to be constitutional or commercial, let facts declare. If they appear to have been commercial only, then it is but fair to conclude, that the question of constitution was considered to have been previously and finally adjusted. Mr. Pitt admits that no

§ Page 13.

† Page 14.

§ Page 16.

no measure since that period has been taken *of the nature alluded to in the address*, these latter words are an insidious comment of his own to point these measures to a certain purpose, for in reality nothing definite in their nature was either specified or alluded to. But let him tell us who has so much as even suggested, that any further constitutional adjustment was necessary to strengthen the two countries, from that time to this, of his attempting to establish that demolished system (to use his own words) * “which before held the two countries together.” But is not the negative proof deducible from the constant silence observed as to any necessity for further constitutional arrangement, but much more the positive evidence of Mr. Pitt’s own conduct, in bringing forward his commercial propositions in three years afterwards, abundantly sufficient to ascertain what the further measures meant by the address were. How can so wise a minister as Mr. Pitt is, reconcile his knowledge that the adjustment between these countries was not merely *not final*, but even “insufficient to preserve a connexion essential to the interests of both,” with his remaining for such a series of years a quiet spectator of so imperfect and probably destructive a situation of their affairs. The system that was demolished, which Mr. Pitt asserts, “held the two countries together,” was the power Great Britain possessed of legislating for and ruling this kingdom as she thought fit, and how far such a bond of Union can be advantageous to Ireland, her flourishing condition when the two countries were so held together, and the rapid decline she has suffered since they ceased to be so, are the best comments. That system however has been demolished, and Mr. Pitt, in January last, said, there was *no system* to hold the countries together; “for it would be great misconception, or great hypocrisy to call that a system which was only the demolition of another system,” so that, during the last seventeen years, this greatest of all prime ministers has with most lucky negligence suffered mere accident to hold these kingdoms together, and at the end of that period, with a degree of wisdom that was well worth the time it cost in acquiring. He tells us, that “the † mutual safety of both depends on their being strictly and cordially united.” Must not Mr. Pitt therefore admit that the settlement of 1782 was a final adjustment, requiring nothing more than some subordinate arrangements, or must he not be driven (even by his own assertions) to the necessity of accounting for his conduct as a minister, in seeing and suffering 17 years of the most imminent and deadly hazard to the very existence of the empire to elapse without an effort to guard against it.

Can it be necessary to reply to his assertion that the commercial propositions, as a plan of final adjustment, having failed, that therefore *no* commercial compact can *ever* be established between the two countries: Its falsehood and absurdity are too glaring. The reasons for which they were rejected, the folly of supposing Mr. Pitt the only

man existing who could form regulations of a commercial nature for these kingdoms, and the consequence of advancing the utter impossibility of devising any but those already proposed, are so obvious, as not to escape the slightest observation. But it may not be amiss to remark, that his suffering commercial adjustment to take a peaceable nap of 14 years duration, along with the constitutional adjustment which lay down to sleep three years before it, if it proves any thing, it must be either the most culpable neglect in Mr. Pitt, or that he did not in reality consider them finally unsettled, or else that he did not imagine them to be of that vital importance he now states them to be. I might indeed suppose one or other motive, but that his tender and parental regard for the interests of this kingdom forbids us to imagine it, is that he would forbear from awakening them until he thought they might serve to restore that demolished system, “which before held these countries together.” Mr. Pitt asserts (and that assertion precludes all occasion for proof) that “a * compact between the two legislatures has been tried and found *impracticable*.” He says too, that commercial jealousies, may, and must arise between these kingdoms, though hitherto they have not arisen; and although it is manifest that nothing can cause them but the commercial prosperity of Ireland. He insists that *the only possible way* to prevent the birth of these commercial jealousies, is for Ireland to surrender all those separate constitutional rights which she now possesses, declaring at the same time they have not yet been finally adjusted, even although for 17 years she acted as if the adjustment had been final. Is there a man existing, standing without the limits of Mr. Pitt’s influence, who could seriously maintain, that admitting commercial jealousies may arise between two nations, that not merely the best, but *the only possible way* of obviating them, and establishing “a solid permanent connexion between such countries,” is for the weaker of them to vest in the stronger, the actual, though not nominal right of disposing of her interests and concerns at her discretion, without appeal or remedy. If such a position can be once established, it must indeed be readily admitted, that it will prove a certain way to prevent at least *commercial* jealousies, and surely of all mankind, a native of this kingdom must be amongst the foremost in acknowledging on the strongest of all possible grounds—former experience—that such means are fully competent to the production of such an effect. Who will say that there can be no complete final adjustment between these countries, until Ireland submits her separate interests (and † Mr. Pitt admits there may be separate interests attached to each kingdom) to the protecting care of the British parliament, thus enabling them to exert the magnanimity he boasts so much of, in nobly neglecting their own, when they come in collision with those of Ireland.

Mr. Pitt now proceeds to his terrific instances of the

* Page 13.

† Page 5.

* Page 20.

† Page 23.

regency, and the rights of this country on questions of peace and war. These bug-bears are easily, and indeed have been most amply, stripped of all the dangers they were capable of holding out against the great interests of the empire. He concludes this head with a long string of queries, grounded on cases he supposes possible to arise. The answer to them all is short and plain. They may all readily be provided against without having recourse to his *only means*. It would indeed require a very great share of ingenuity to suppose imaginable cases, on which the two nations might differ as much after a Legislative Union as before it, even although we might suppose all the non-resident members (as well Lords as Commons) agreeing unanimously with the British; or even although we supposed, what is much more difficult to imagine, that they unanimously dissented from them; we might suppose the consequence of such a difference would be, if not *finally adjusted*, most probably just then what such a difference would be just now—ruin to both. Yet we can suppose too, that the probability of that ruin would be lessened by the very circumstance of the independence of both nations. There is however, one case indeed, which we cannot even suppose the existence of, and that is the total prevention of all possibility of any two nations differing to their own destruction, or of the inhabitants of different parts of the same nation cutting one another's throats; this latter case has exhibited the possibility of its frequent recurrence, even in the hallowed and happy land of Great Britain, and yet establishes nothing more than the impossibility of rendering any human institution completely perfect.

HIBERNICUS.

The Thirty-second Chapter of the Book of Chronicles

OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

1. **AND** it came to pass in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of George the third, king of England, and in the fourth month, that William, the chief counsellor, stood before him, and said:—

2. O king, live for ever! behold the war which you have been long engaged in against the Gauls, has wasted the treasures of your kingdoms, spilled the blood of your subjects, and laid prostrate thousands of your young men.

3. And you well know you are king over a people who dwell in the land of Erin, who are possessed of a harp which is kept in their chief city, to the music of which they have sung, and they have danced. They have waxed rich, and do make merry.

4. Now if we could prevail on the people of this land, to bring their harp to our chief city, and with it some of their nobles and some of their people: Then would their riches be our riches, our laws would be their laws, our taxes would be their taxes, and we should be as one people.

5. And the king answered and said, how shall we do this thing? Is not their harp guarded by fierce wolf-dogs of their own breeding, who will not suffer any stranger to come near it, and are not the people a jealous and a stubborn people.

6. And William said, have not you committed the government of Erin to Cornelius, a valiant man, and a mighty warrior, well skilled in the art of war, and has he not a youth named Robert, to send on his errands and messages, and have you not a kennel of well-trained bull-dogs in their chief city, ready and stout enough to attack the wolf-dogs, and has he not a Cook to make savoury bits for your dogs: are not all those under the command of the chief ruler?

7. And moreover, when the harp is come to our city, it will be tuned to the bagpipe of the North, and the trumpet of the South, so that they will all play in concert together.

8. And the king answered and said, do it this matter as it seemeth good unto you; so William prepared a message to be sent to the nobles, and to the people of England, when assembled together, on a day appointed.

9. And he likewise sent to Cornelius to make a speech to the nobles, and to the people of Erin, on the same day, when they were to be collected together in council.

10. Howbeit, when the nobles and the people were met together, and Cornelius had seated himself on the king's throne, he imparted to them that it was the king's desire, that they should bring their harp into his presence.

11. And when the nobles communed together, almost all of them agreed to the desire of the king; but when the people assembled, the wolf-dogs barked and growled exceedingly, so that the bull-dogs could not approach the harp without great danger.

12. And the contest lasted from the evening of one day, to the middle of the next, but the conflict being

nearly equal, the dogs on both sides were drawn off, to be refreshed until the next day.

13. And on the next day of meeting the battle again began, and continued for several hours; but at length the bull-dogs were vanquished; the wolf-dogs being in number 111, and the bull-dogs 104.

15. So the harp yet remains in the chief city of Erin, under the care of the victors; and there were great rejoicings, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy throughout the whole city, on account thereof.

15. And the leader of the wolf-dogs received the thanks of all the people of the land for his good conduct and judicious government of the wolf-dogs.

16. But the leader of the bull-dogs was despised and hooted by all ranks of men, for his attempt to deprive his and his forefathers native kingdom of its harp; and he was sore vexed, and much troubled at his discomfiture.

17. And when the rumour had spread through the distant provinces of the land, the wolf-dogs of every place in the kingdom met together, and resolved to afford their best assistance to the wolf-dogs who had been victorious, and had kept the harp at home.

18. So that it is now believed the harp of Erin will rest in the land from generation to generation. And let all the people say, amen, amen. So be it.

19. Now the rest of the acts of George the third, and of William his chief counsellor, of the laws that he

made, and of the laws that he imposed, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the Kings of England.

WE beg leave to contradict a ridiculous report lately circulated, that a school has been opened in the Castle, for the purpose of instructing officers of rank, who know nothing of military matters; and that a general there gives lectures on such subjects; and that a certain militia colonel lately appointed, attends regularly as a day scholar. The whole is a mere fabrication. The fact is, that the said colonel goes to the military and marine academy, on Summer-hill, which he has preferred, from not knowing but he may at some future period, be promoted in the navy; being equally fit for that service with the one where he now stands so high. We hear also that he has made astonishing progress in his learning, considering the short time he has been at it, as he is now perfectly conversant in stink-pots, and other offensive matters. It is thought we may have his name among those of the other lads, who shall obtain premiums at the next examinations.

WE hear that a late EXECUTIVE OFFICER of a certain southern county is shortly to have the BLOODY HAND added to his escutcheon as a perpetual memorial of the ability with which he fulfilled the DUTIES of his office.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1799.

No. XXIX.

THE following Letters were dropped into our box at different times; and as they exhibit, not unfaithfully, the sentiments of two opposite parties on the subject of an Union, we think it not improper to indulge the respective authors with the publication of their performances. At the same time we take this opportunity of declaring, what we trust our manner of conducting this paper, has made sufficiently apparent, that in principle and in practice, we differ from those who swear fealty to either party. We differ from that association, which, to promote a political end, incloses its members within the pale of a sect; and we abhor the conspiracy of those, who, for the purpose of overwhelming the constitution of their country, abuse the simplicity of the lower orders of society, and preach a ferocious, unrelenting enmity against the higher ranks. Our disapprobation of the Orange-man is not, however, unqualified. So far as he is loyal, his conduct deserves our praise; and the indignation he expresses at the requital with which it is intended to reward his services to his King and the Constitution, kindles in our bosom a sympathetic feeling. With the Committee-man we have not one point of contact or sympathy; we rejoice in his disappointment, and we lament that the late desperate project, has raised in him hopes, which, we fondly trusted, the event of the late rebellion had baffled for ever. To the orange-man we should wish to justify our coldness, which he, in derision, has called philosophic. We accept the epithet as a compliment, and we beg leave to suggest to him, that in all human concerns, the torch of reason is a more secure guide, than the unsteady flame of impassioned feeling. The former leads to moderation, the latter to excess. The former always vivid and serene, is fed in the pure atmosphere of philanthropy; while the latter is frequently obscured by the mists of prejudice and intolerance, and sometimes is extinguished in blood.

Our consciences sanction that conduct which the United Irishman calls mistaken patriotism, and the Orangeman frigid indifference. In the sarcasm of one we see something opposite to a love of the constitution, in the censure of the other we can distinguish something different from that calmness which in the most troubled times a rational man should wish to preserve. To the one we explicitly declare our abhorrence of that licentiousness which some political dreamers have called Liberty; to the other we venture to recommend that temperate benevolence whose ultimate object is to increase human happiness, which laments sectarian animosity, and which so far from countenancing acts of severity turns aside even from the punishment which it may deem necessary to inflict. We anxiously hope soon to

see the time when the constitution of this country shall be secure as well against the attacks of the former and his foreign allies, as against the efforts of a not less formidable assailant, the British Minister; and when the zeal of the latter not limited to a party or circumscribed to a sect shall be directed to promote the equal and universal welfare of all his fellow-countrymen.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

SO! Gentlemen; you friends of the *Connexion*—you sticklers for the *present* constitution in church and state, are about to reap the fruits of your zeal and services! The British Cabinet whom you have so faithfully served, and so implicitly trusted, I find are about to take you to their arms, and reward your fidelity and your confidence, by making you Englishmen! I congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the event! I love to see loyalty properly rewarded, tho' it is a virtue I have never boasted—I rejoice to see Irishmen, who have laboured so ardently for British *Connexion*, raised to the dignity of British subjects!

But to be serious, Gentlemen, for indeed I mean not to insult you, however ridiculous you may appear, after being duped so egregiously; to be serious I say, are you not now convinced, that it was *our* party, not *yours*, that had the truest view of British policy, and divined most truly the intentions of the British cabinet towards this country? Who now appears to have reasoned best on the principles and aims of your Anglo-Irish secretaries; your Pitts, your Grenvilles, and your Camdens? We insisted that the Irish Parliament, constituted as it is of borough-mongers, of placemen, pensioners, and hungry expectants, could never fairly speak the sense, or consult the interests, of Ireland. You reviled us! you whipt, transported, and shot us, for saying so! What do you say now, when the very same assertions which we uttered, and almost in our very words, are promulgated as political truisms, from the very Council-chamber? Must not your hearts tell you, that you have been the dupes of a wicked faction? Must not your consciences now feel that we have been unjustly and unwisely persecuted? But have you yet fully seen your errors? I think not, from your present conduct.

You, Gentlemen, have stepped forward with a zeal and a boldness, that do you honor, because your inten-

tion is, no doubt, good; though your judgment is erroneous; you have stepped forward the first among your countrymen, to raise an outcry against the projected Union, and to excite a constitutional resistance to a measure, which you think dishonourable and ruinous to your country. But I say that if you saw our situation aright, and were friends to the real independence and honor of Ireland, you would, with all your might, promote this Union; Why do I think so? I answer boldly, because I think that an Union is the only event, which, perhaps for a century to come, can furnish means to the real friends of the country, to throw off for ever, the British Connexion. To men of your known principles, men who appear seriously to believe that the welfare of Ireland depends on perpetuating the present connexion between the two countries, this may seem a strange argument; but, Gentlemen, give me leave to tell you, that these principles appear likely, in a very little time, to become antiquated. The present attempt of the British Minister, must have shaken them, and I am convinced there is not a thinking mind in Ireland, who perceives that the *existing* connexion of the two crowns, is regarded by the British Cabinet only as an instrument for bringing about *another* connexion, namely, that which is now about to be forced down your throats, and which must bury for ever, the name, the rights, and the constitution of Ireland; I say there is not a thinking mind in Ireland who perceives this, that does not feel his zeal for British Connexion, glow less ardently. I know that as things go on, that zeal will be extinguished in every bosom in Ireland, and that it will be followed by a determination to rescue the country for ever, from the gripes of British domination. The question then is, whether an Union will tend to accelerate that event? I contend that it will—that it *must* do so of necessary consequence, and my opinion rests upon this argument: It appears by the experience of this summer, that the whole force of the state, animated by the loyalty of most of the men of property in Ireland, prompted by the inveterate animosity of religious bigotry, guided by a resident viceroy, and council of acknowledged talents, and invigorated by the cheering presence of a resident legislature, it appears, I say, that with all these advantages, the force of Ireland seconded by the auxiliary force of Great Britain, was for some time only able to maintain a doubtful contest with our society, though our councils were discovered, our leaders imprisoned, our allies not yet arrived, our people untried in arms, and astonished by the wise, decisive and able measures of the government. Thus much we were able to effect even at that time; it is true, indeed, that at present our power is broken, our allies defeated, our plans and principles detected and exposed, and our force put down, after a fair trial of strength—it is true therefore, that we can no longer hope to rise while things remain in their present state—but let an Union be once carried against the will of the loyal part of the community, how different will be our situation! No man can doubt that the first consequence of that measure will be to add immense numbers to our party, and you will be sure we will not neglect to take advantage of this new ground of discontent. We have hated the Orange-men; but we are not such fools as to reject their assistance, when they shall have been convinced of their mistake by this wanton and insolent attack of the British cabinet—our force, therefore, will be greatly increased; add to this, that many of those noblemen and men of great property, whose influence in the late contest raised up an host against us, will, in that event, either be sent to London as Irish representatives, or they will go thither to court preferment or pleasure. In these, therefore, we shall have our most dangerous enemies removed: But besides this, there will no longer remain a formidable administration, consisting of able and vigilant ministers to watch our movements—there will exist no longer a legislature to guard by wise and timely measures against the operations of our executive. Magistrates, resident five or six hundred miles from the seat of government, will naturally be less active and bold in discharge of their duty than when they were under the eye of a government that would encourage and reward their activity. If there be men in this country who have really the spirit of independent men, they will feel inert and disgusted in their new character of *Provincials*. New taxes, a necessary consequence of an Union, will furnish us with a new handle to play on the feelings of the populace. In short, every circumstance by which an Union can be accompanied will add to *our* strength, and diminish that of the opposite party; what then may we not hope from one bold effort, such as we lately made? What will remain to prevent the success of one great essay to liberate our country? Our country, then a DEPENDANT PROVINCE! TREASON will, in the eye of many who now loath it, lose its turpitude—REBELLION will become a word expressive of moral virtue—and the now detested name of UNITED IRISHMAN will be understood to signify a suffering helot struggling for his freedom!

Gentlemen, I communicate these sentiments to you as to men, who I conceive are acting wrong from the best motives. You are opposing that which tends immediately to the *emancipation* of your country, under the false notion that you are contending for its independence. Desist, if you are wise, from so sottish a conduct. Look *beyond* the present moment, and behold this island rising into self-dependent, unconnected dignity, from a LEGISLATIVE UNION of the two countries!

I am, Gentlemen,

Your real friend,

A COMMITTEE MAN.

TO THE SOCIETY

WHO

CONDUCT THE ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU have set out with professing to oppose an Union, and you have now published several numbers, in which you have given some very good arguments, no doubt, against that abominable measure; but you seem to me to be too cool, too abstract, too philosophical, in your discussion. In my mind you are very insipid milk and water gentlemen. You talk of this measure as you would of a difficult point of law, or of philosophy, in which your *head only*, not your *heart*, your *interest*, your *affections*, your *family*, your *posterity*, were concerned! My heart burns with indignation, my blood boils, my head becomes giddy when I think of it! and reading your paper does not tend to appease my feelings; for I tell you again you seem to me a set of cold, insensible, frog-blooded fellows. Have you been in Ireland for these last seven months, or are you dropped from the clouds with nothing but intellect about you? Are you yeomen? Have you been called from your warm habitations, from the bosom of your wife, the embraces of your children, to undergo all the fatigues and all the dangers of war to save our constitution? Have you drawn your sword against your countrymen, and bathed it in his blood, because he attempted to change that constitution? Have you lost your health and diminished your fortune in order to *keep your oath*, and defend to the utmost of your power the King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland? And after all this, can you, when you are told that all you have been fighting for was a corrupt and despicable set of fellows who have sold their country, and have always done so, to the British minister—that the constitution which you have bled for was not worth a groat; and that your parliament, which you were taught to love and honor, must die an infamous death? Can you, I say, after all this, reason coldly and abstractedly upon this subject? why doat you speak out and tell the insolent fellows who talk in this manner, that the loyal Yeomanry of Ireland, the Orange-men, who have resisted rebellion, put down treason, and defended their country and its constitution, will not be insulted with impunity! that if they have been made to draw their sword against their deluded countrymen, they will not be backward to draw it against———But I have not patience to think on this subject—I love my King, God bless him: I am a friend to England, and I am perhaps a bigot in my love for the constitution I have lived under;—but am I then to be made a tool of to serve Mr. Pitt's purposes? God grant me patience! Pray, pray let me see something spirited on this subject from you, who pretend to dislike this foul measure as well as I, or I shall begin to think that there are none but knaves and fools in the world.

I am, Gentlemen,
An injured, insulted,
ORANGE YEOMAN.

THE WOLF AND THE LAMB.

A FABLE.

De to
Fabula Narratur.

Hor.

IN days of yore, as tales agree,
When beasts could speak like you and me,
Long reign'd the terror of the wood,
A WOLF, inur'd to war and blood:
So fierce the savage, one would think
Contention was his meat and drink—
Nay some would take their bible oath,
He lov'd it better far than both.
Whate'er the strife, for bit or bone,
He long'd to make the cause his own:
With head strong rage the surly brute
Provoked and manag'd each dispute;
Though oft he smarted in his hide
For joining the unlucky side.
The Pitcher, antient proverbs tell,
That goes too often to the well,
Through many a dayly peril past,
Comes home a vessel crack'd at last;—
And such in truth was IS GRIM's fate,
For on he dash'd at such a rate,
And grew with bites and blows so thin,
His bones stood starting through the skin;
Unable longer now to roam,
And forc'd to cater nearer home.
On a fair flock of sheep hard by,
The spoiler turn'd a wishful eye.
Long time he toil'd, and cast about
To introduce his forward snout;
For that once compassed, well he knew
He soon might squeeze his body through:
By fraud he trusted to prevail—
For fraud succeeds, where force shall fail;
Yet could he neither spring nor creep,
The fence was high, THE DITCH WAS DEEP.
Within, her guardian dam beside,
A tender LAMBKEN he espied,
That high above the ditch between,
Frolick'd securely on the green.
His lips he lick'd, enraptur'd quite
At such a luscious, tempting sight;
And thus with specious craft essay'd
The fertile pasture to invade.
“Madam,” smooth speaking to the dam,
He cried, “your humble slave I am:
Be not alarmed to see a stranger,
I come to warn you of your danger;
A BEAR has seen your lovely daughter,
He swears he'll swim across the water,
And breaking through this sacred fence,
Will force your little darling hence.
Now if it pleases you and her,
Let ME a lover's suit prefer;

Thus sav'd by me from death and ruin,
 Why dread the hug of MONSIEUR BRUIN ?
 For once with me she forms alliance,
 Our UNION bids the Bear defiance ;
 And while I guard her from the storm,
 Her fleece shall keep my carcase warm.
 Behold her manners rude and wild !—
 I'll teach politeness to the child ;
 And when united with her betters,
 Like Chesterfield, I'll write her letters ;
 So under ISGRIM'S education,
 Of me she'll learn *civilization*.
 Pray let me lead the lady hence ;
 My lawyers shall make settlements,
 In full and binding force upon her ;
 All this I promise on my honor,
 For me and for mine heirs for ever,
 And nought our UNION shall dis sever."

The subtle savage spake : his cunning
 Soon set the mother's head a running,
 Who puff'd with pride, began to scorn
 The sphere to which her child was born :—
 " Come, come," she cried, " good girl consider,
 And take at once so high a bidder :
 Cheer up, and show no bashful face,
 But cast a *sheep's eye* at his grace :
 Reject not this fair UNION pray,
 Such offers come not every day."

Perfused 'gainst her own opinion,
 Poor LAMB submits to WOLF'S dominion ;
 And comes with sad, averted eyes
 A cold, reluctant sacrifice.

See, o'er the ditch his bride he loads,
 Proud that his scheming craft succeeds ;
 Now wearied with so long a fast,
 Anticipates the rich repast,
 In fancy feasts on every joint,
 So round, so plump, so *embonpoint* :
 Till to his den of slaughter come,
 He welcomes Mrs. ISGRIM home :
 Then looks around—" A pretty jest,"
 He cries, " what's here ?—No dinner dress ?
 Whence, Madam, this omission, pray ?
 Thought you I would not dine to day ?"

" Wreak not on me thy wrath," replied
 With fault'ring tongue, his helpless bride ;
 " Consider, home with you I came,
 Then how am I, good Sir, to blame ?
 Nor law, nor justice, can decree,
 You for *your* wants should punish *me*.
 Indeed it is no fault of mine,
 That you had nought to day to dine."

" Silence !" the savage growl'd ; " nor dare
 To hope my hungry rage will spare ;
 What ! shall *you* crop the flow'ry plain,
 While for support / toil in vain ?
 Shall that smooth fleece and pamp'rd side,
 Insult my lean and shabby hide ?
 Such then the case, as I'm a sinner,
 I'll never go without my dinner.
 Vast are my debts, and I can ill
 Afford to pay my butcher's bill :
 Nay, Madam, why at me those looks ?
 Heav'n sends us meat, the devil *Cooks*.
 Talk not to me that I'm unjust ;
 If you don't bear the brunt, who must ?"

He said, and horrible to tell,
 Fierce on his suppliant bride he fell ;
 Her quiv'ring limbs the savage tore,
 And bath'd and revell'd in her gore.

The Sheep, who from the neighb'ring mead,
 Beheld the filial victim bleed ;
 As now her sorrow came too late,
 Thus wail'd her wretched daughter's fate :
 " Why was I wheedled to consent,
 To what in vain I must repent ?
 Alas ! betrayed and left forlorn,
 With fruitless tears my child I mourn !
 OH YE, WHOM CRAFT IMPELS TO SEEK,
 SUCH UNION OF THE STRONG AND WEAK,
 BE WARN'D BY HER UNHAPPY FALL,
 NOR GIVE WHAT YE CAN NE'ER RECALL !"

OLD TELL TRUTH.

LOST,

FOR some time past, by a certain young Nobleman, either in the Castle or in the Parliament House, a very small sense of decency, which would be of no importance to the owner but that it was all he possessed in that way, and the want of it may injure him very materially with his patron. It was hoped to have been only astray until the motion for the committal of the regency bill demonstrated its being totally gone, and it is now known that the owner let it slip from between the most consummate vanity and the worst intentions with which it was packed up, but which still remain with him. Should any one attempt to use it, he may be certain that he shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the Attorney General's new act. If offered for sale or pawn, it is requested notice may be sent to the Secretary's office.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

TUESDAY, MARCH 5, 1799.

No. XXX.

TO THE
EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

GENTLEMEN,

THE duplicity of the minister and the fallacy of ministerial arguments for an Union become every day more manifest. Time brings falsehood as well as truth to light, and perhaps detects political sophistry with more effect than the most acute sagacity. Generally, however, the operation of time in the detection of falsehood is slow, and its effects perceptible only after long intervals; but either from the shallowness of the minister's artifice, or from the remarkable promineny of truth on this great question, he has been able to sink it but just below the surface—it has accordingly emerged into full view when the force which depressed it was removed: and, what has seldom been witnessed in the history of our legislature, the very same session in which a momentous measure was urged as of vital and indispensable necessity, has seen the duplicity of the propounder of that measure, and the arguments by which it was supported, exposed and refuted by subsequent events.

To be explicit—I boldly and in terms charge the young man, to whom the administration of this country is committed, with having falsified his own professions, with having refuted his own arguments for a legislative union, and with having involuntarily proved to the people of Ireland, that the measure which he attempted to steal upon the country, and which he is now preparing to propose again to its legislature, has been adopted by that deputy minister, and his master, with other views than those they have avowed, namely, the strengthening of the connexion between the two countries, the restoration of tranquillity, the advancement of civilization, and the improvement of the constitution of this country. I shall prove this charge in a very simple and I conceive a very satisfactory way, by comparing the doctrines which he inculcated in recommending a legislative Union with the measures which he has carried, and the conduct which he has held since the rejection of that project.

It cannot yet be forgotten even by the young man himself, and certainly not by the public, that the principal argument by which he endeavoured to support an Union, was the uncertainty of the bond which at present unites the two countries. In illustration of the danger which was supposed to exist from this cause one instance only could be found, and it was tri-

umphantly dwelt on as a proof that a situation might again occur, as it had already occurred, in which the exercise of complete legislative independence by the Irish parliament might tend to a separation of the two countries—That instance was the regency question. If the Irish parliament, it was said, continues to be a separate and independent legislature, it will always possess a right to differ from the British legislature in the appointment of a regent; and if it should differ from it in that instance there would be a temporary separation, leading perhaps to a perpetual separation of the executives of the two countries. To obviate this danger the young Lord proposed a surrender of the distinct independence of the Irish legislature, not in that case only—the only practical case which had ever occurred—but a total surrender of its distinct existence. Now if the young Lord did seriously believe that a danger of separation was connected with the exercise of distinct independence by the Irish parliament in this instance, he would be zealous to support a measure which went directly to remove that danger for ever by surrendering the right to that exercise; and if his fears of that danger were so gigantic as to incline him to obviate it by a total abolition of a distinct Irish legislature, he must be so much the more zealous to support a measure which went to effect the safety of the connexion by a less dangerous sacrifice. Has the young Lord acted on this principle? The dismissed Prime Serjeant, willing to prove himself as faithful a friend as the young Lord to the unity of the empire, though a much more steady friend to the independence of his country, brings in a bill by which the question of right to appoint a regent different, or under a different limitation, from that appointed by the British parliament, would be put at rest for ever, and the safety of the connexion in this particular rendered consistent with the distinct existence of Irish parliament. Does the young Lord relish this measure of honest loyalty to connexion and constitution? In the first instance, he assents in full silence to its introduction, and not having ingenuity enough to suggest any thing in derogation of the measure when first proposed, he avails himself of the time given by the forms of parliament in order to create objections to the measure itself, to cavil with the motives which suggested it, or the effects which it would produce. And what are the objections which he has fabricated or gleaned from his followers? They amount virtually to this—that it is a violent encroachment on the legislative independence of the country—that it is of infinite delicacy, intricacy, and importance—that it requires therefore much time and attention to mold properly—and above all, that the difficulty of its arrangement proves incontrovertibly the hazard-

ous state in which the connexion stands. Now, let the good people of Ireland consider what confidence they can place in the integrity of that man, who has the boldness to press them, at one time to give up their liberty and independence for the attainment of a particular purpose, and when that purpose is proposed to be attained at a less price, objects to the measure that it violates their independence! I ask the people, does not this conduct belie the motives of that man who urged a surrender of the constitution in order to prevent separation, and who, when separation is to be prevented in another way, objects to the constitution? What will they think of the honesty, or the sincerity, of him who would allow the legislature but twenty four hours to deliberate and decide upon a measure vesting the executive with absolute and irresponsible power, * but whose scrupulous delicacy and slow intellect requires an extraordinary time to deliberate on the question, whether the legislature, to perpetuate the connexion, should restrain the exercise of their free choice in a case of the most rare occurrence? Nay, what will they think of the understanding of the man who, when the legislature, foreseeing a remote danger from the possibility of a case in which a free exercise of their independence might tend to separation, propose to restrain the exercise of their right in that instance for the future, declares, that on this occasion he is more than ever convinced the independence of that legislature endangers the connexion, and that therefore they ought, as soon as possible, to surrender it altogether? For my part, I profess I can see in the conduct of such a man nothing but a thorough contempt for consistency, a palpable contradiction of former professions, an inveterate hostility to the independence of the country for reasons which he dares not avow, and a stolidity which incapacitates him from giving even colour and plausibility to his own actions.

But is this the only instance in which the young Lord has, in the course of three weeks, falsified his own professions, and refuted his own arguments? The young Lord, with the rashness rather than with the candour of a young man, told the people of Ireland that they had not the British constitution, but that an Union would give it to them. Now, either those measures which his lordship has promoted since the rejection of an Union were made necessary by the circumstances of the country, or they have been adopted by his lordship to punish this befuddled country for their rejection of this proffered boon. If the circumstances of the country made those measures necessary, they would have been adopted as well had an Union taken place as in case of its rejection; for the mere enactment of an Union could not immediately, if it could ever, produce any effect in rendering those measures less necessary. But what have these measures been? The most distinguish-

* Vide the debate on the Bill for suppressing the Rebellion, which invests the Irish Executive with power to establish law-martial, paramount to the civil power, over all the king's subjects.

ed is the rebellion bill, by which the executive power is authorized by law to suspend the operations of the civil courts, and exercise the indefinite and tremendous powers of martial-law at their mere discretion, and without controul. This then is the constitution of England, with which, after an Union we were to be blessed, This is one of the tranquillising, civilising, humanizing schemes, which an Union was to introduce; and it was thus that the people of Ireland were to be admitted within the pale of the constitution! But I will be told that it is unfair to attribute to his lordship an intention of carrying this measure had an Union been adopted, because it is now carried after the rejection of an Union. I reply, there is nothing unfair in charging him with that intention, if it cannot be shewn (and I defy any man to shew it) that circumstances have been rendered so different by the rejection of that measure that this bill is more necessary now than it would have been had the minister succeeded in his attempt at subjugating the country. There is certainly no shade of difference created by that rejection, and therefore there cannot be a doubt entertained by any rational man that his lordship would have proposed this bill had the country suffered itself to be duped into a surrender of its independence in the false hope of being admitted to a fuller participation of the benefits of the British Constitution, as well as in the present circumstances of the country. But what indignation would not the People of Ireland have justly entertained against the man, who should have substituted this dreadful law for a fuller enjoyment of constitutional liberty? Would they not have truly thought that his promise had been broken, and his professions falsified? And if this Bill was in his Lordship's contemplation when he was holding out to Ireland the deceitful hope of a full enjoyment of the privileges of the British Constitution; I ask is he not now fairly chargeable with having spoken falsely, and acted deceitfully, towards this country? Should I adopt the other alternative, and suppose that this measure was not necessary, either before or since the discussion of an Union, but that he has resorted to it as a measure of revenge, to punish our obstinacy, or of experiment, to goad us to an Union, his Lordship's character, or that of the administration he leads, will not be much served by the supposition. In the one case, he will be guilty of deceit and falsehood; in the other, of fraud and malice. It is, however, with this latter that I am inclined to charge him, for that there was any thing in the circumstances of the country, or in the government, which made the adoption of this bill necessary, I cannot conceive. His Lordship has acknowledged it gives no new powers to administration, and therefore it could not be necessary to enable them to repress what he calls the rebellion. He has said, that the Government have already the undoubted right of trying and punishing rebellion in a summary way by law-martial, and that therefore, the only object of the bill is to prevent the

civil power from interfering with the executive in the exercise of their right. Now taking for granted that, as his Lordship asserts, the executive have a *right* to try by martial law those who are found in rebellion, it must follow, that the civil power has no *right* to interfere with them, in the exercise of that right; for there cannot be two contradictory rights in those two powers.—But if the bill be not necessary either to strengthen the arm of the executive, or to secure to them the exclusive exercise of a right, which, if they possess at all, they must possess exclusively, from the very nature of the thing; I say the bill must then be adopted by the minister for the purpose I attribute to him—that of goading Ireland to an Union, by really depriving her of the benefits of the British Constitution, and by substituting for that constitution, an uncontrollable and indefinite power in the executive government. If it be asked, how it can at once be true, that it vests an indefinite and uncontrollable power in the executive government, and yet does not strengthen that executive? The answer is short: It does not strengthen the executive, because the powers which this bill gives they already possess by the *practice*, though not by the *theory* of the constitution; powers which the government in times of danger and rebellion have always exercised, but under a responsibility to the legislature for this violation of constitutional forms. But this bill does that which, in times of the greatest turbulence, in times of rebellion and under the most arbitrary reigns, no minister ever dared to propose to the legislature; it establishes despotism by law, and abolishes the constitution by act of Parliament; it sanctions *a priori*, by a statute, that power, which, under the British Constitution, it has sometimes been necessary for the executive to exercise, but for the exercise of which, the executive has been always left to justify itself afterwards, by the circumstances which made it necessary, and the temperance with which it was accompanied. Here then the check on despotism is removed; for by this bill the power is *legally* vested in the executive, and for the exercise of a legal power there is no responsibility. Such is the law by which the minister has made the second assault upon the constitution of Ireland, and which I venture to predict, is the forerunner of a total subversion of constitutional liberty in the British Empire!

I have mentioned one measure which his Lordship has virtually opposed since the rejection of an Union, tho' he had previously declared its necessity and its importance; and I have adverted to another which he has introduced, that tends to destroy the constitution, and therefore falsifies his profession, that he wished to procure for Ireland a fuller participation of British Liberty. There remain other monuments of insincerity, of fraud, and of hostility to Ireland. What shall we say of his silence on those measures which, not two months since, we were told by him were indispensable to the contentment of the people, and the restoration of confidence and peace to Ireland? I speak of the substi-

tion for tythes, and the arrangements in favour of the Catholic clergy: But it were superfluous to expatiate upon these topics; it must be apparent to every man of common sense, either that the minister talked of those measures, pending the discussion of an Union, purely to cajole the public, or that he now with-holds those measures from some motive of crooked policy which looks to other objects than the good of Ireland; for who can doubt that if these measures would be useful with an Union, they would be also useful without it? Who can doubt whether they would not remove one of the great causes of insubordination in Ireland, and abolish one of the most fertile sources of religious jealousy? The minister himself has acknowledged the principle, and therefore he stands convicted either of having declared to the people of Ireland as his opinion, that which he did not believe, or of wickedly with-holding from the country, from the worst motives, the means of restoring to it, content and tranquillity.

A FABLE,

—

NURSE DANDLUM,

TO AMUSE THE CHILDREN OF DUBLIN.

IN a wide forest once there lived
A Lion of great power;
Who in the science of attack,
Had practis'd many an hour.

Nay, if two neighb'ring beasts did wage
A fair and open strife,
The meddling beast would step between,
And try for either life.

This Lion had an useful friend,
A young courageous whelp,
Who often from the neighb'ring cave,
Stept out to give him help.

The creature was a Jackall named,
By some miscall'd a slave;
But, children, don't believe the lie,
For he was *free* and *brave*.

What tho' the Lion had more bulk,
Could sooner crush and kill;
Full often he had gain'd a prize
By little Jacky's skill.

And well he knew his real worth,
And oft he'd coax and pet him ;
For he had studied all the ways
That little Jack could fret him.

The Lion getting wond'rous weak,
Grew sluggish in the chace ;
And all the prey was hunted down
By Jacky's nimble pace.

And so it ought, for Jack then lay
In safety in his den,
'And by the Lion's power was safe
From savage beasts or men.

Thus mutual help and mutual care
Made each to other true,
'Till the old Lion first-propos'd
An offer somewhat new.

'Tis hard, when cunning does succeed,
And fraud can make an hit ;
'T would be much better could we crush
The rascal, in a *Pit*.

Old Grim, for reasons of his own,
Came fawning to his friend,
(The proudest beasts will cringe and fawn,
When they would gain their end.)

Suppose, said he, that you and I
Should live within one cave,
'T will keep the other beasts away,
And give me pow'r to save :

You know, dear friend, the wolf § now roams,
And prowls abroad for food,
Without my help and special care,
He'd drench your cave with blood.

True, replied Jack, but could not we
Yet keep the wolf at bay,
Tho' still like allies we should live,
And keep to the old way :

No, no, replied the crafty beast,
When once you are my own,
Your interest will be truly mine,
You'll share my aged throne :

§ Wolves (it is said) are natives of France.

A UNION shall now link us both
In one united name,
Ourselves and interests sew'd so close,
You could not see the seam.

Suffice it now for me to say
The Lion gained his will,
And had of all he wish'd and fought,
What children call their fill.

The foolish Jackall swell'd with pride
To be the Lion's equal ;
But how old Grim concludes his scheme
Is pictured in the sequel.

My friend, said he; you know your part
Is but to chase the game,
'Tis mine to seize, and to destroy
What you have first made tame :

My ample paws can grasp, you know
With strength that never fails,
Your lesser claws are useless now—
So let me clip your nails.

Jackey with guileless spirit hears,
And pushes out his paws,
The Lion bites his nails quite close—
Then frames his *equal* laws.

The Jackall should have half the game,
That is—when he had eat,
Jack should have leave to pick and forage
The remnant of the treat.

You'd grieve to see the monster feast,
And Jack the starving creature,
But when the jaws of power are free,
Monopoly is nature.

One day, alas ! I grieve to tell,
They chanc'd to meet no prey ;
The Lion glared his eyes around,
And Jack was in the way.

The tyrant, roaring, shook his mane,
Growling for fresh supplies,
And as *his friend* had none to give,
Alas ! the Jackall dies.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1799.

No. XXXI.

To such Gentlemen as are summoned to attend the
Grand Juries in the different Counties in
IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is the rumour of the day that the sanctuary of justice, the grand jury room, in which you are to discharge the most sacred and important duty to your country, is to be disturbed and agitated by political discussion. In a word—that the approbation of the grand jurors of Ireland to the measure of an incorporate Union is to be sought for by the executive government of your country. I cannot conceive it possible that such a rumour is entitled to attention. I hope that government is too wise to propose, and that you gentlemen, are too prudent to accede, to such a measure. It is impossible that at a time when your rulers exact despotic power for the preservation of the state, that it can invite any body of men to further disquisition, on a subject which has already shook the country to its centre: I trust that a rumour of this kind has arisen from the fears of individuals, rather than any communication between the servants of the crown and the inferior officers whom they immediately nominate. The presumption is certainly as strong, that Mr. Pitt's servants have appointed Union sheriffs, as that Union sheriffs have summoned Union juries. It is not unlikely, if the influence of the crown is exercised, but that 700 gentlemen might be found in Ireland to resolve in favor of an Union. Twenty-three persons of character, some of them servants and dependants on the crown, others in expectation of courtly favor, might easily I suppose be collected in each county, and might certainly be induced to accede to such a proposal; for unfortunately, the individual good felt in a public benefit is comparatively so small, comes round through such an involved labyrinth of tedious revolutions, that the cold commendation of a public advantage never was, and never will be, a match for the quick sensibility of private loss, or individual aggrandizement. I impeach not your honor, your integrity, nor your patriotism—I am no hired calumniator to detract from the purity of your intentions—it is the expression of the public feeling of a county which gives importance to a grand jury resolution—when obtained by insidious and surreptitious means, the most time-serving resolution is of greater injury than advantage to the minister. You risk odium and contempt without the smallest benefit—and trust me that your wounded and irritated country would infinitely sooner burst its cerments in expressing its indignation at the idea of an Union being justified by the expression of public sentiment in its favor through a grand jury organ, than at its being carried

even by the most bare-faced legislative prostitution. I call on you therefore as you value the peace of your delirious country—as you recollect the views of that enemy who daily draws his increased resources from confederating powers, not to indulge the silly anger of a baffled and disappointed minister, but that in your different counties you will exhibit an even-handed justice—that by your benevolence and your example you will hush the warring elements of murder, of passion, and of faction to peace. I entreat you to relent in rigor, where you may relent in safety—to pardon something to the spirit of liberty; and at the same time that you hold the rod of chastisement over the guilty culprit, never put your names to any resolution which may exhibit you to your country as the admirers of a measure, which, if carried, must make perpetual domestic hostility the wretched inheritance of your unhappy posterity. Indeed, gentlemen, I address you in the language and the spirit of peace; and I tell you, frankly, that I see nothing in the bill which is now before the legislature to induce you to seek refuge in despair, even in an Union; because when this country is united to Engl. you have no security but that it would not be exposed if possible to still greater misery. I can never think that Lord Cornwallis will abandon the seat of mercy to enthrone himself on the tribunal of revenge; he is too old and too virtuous to seek power to shed our blood. If he is to be vested with absolute power, his character as a generous soldier and humane man, gives us every reason to hope that it will be employed in counteracting local depredations and inhuman brutalities; though that power was abused, yet my approbation of an Union would never be in proportion to that abuse. Slavery is as dangerous to a government as to an individual, the danger is only in the degree. At all times, when a cruel policy rivets the chain round the ancle of the peasant, divine justice, says the amiable St. Pierre, rivets the other end round the neck of the tyrant. In this great and awful movement of nations there is a reciprocal servitude between the people and rulers of new as well as old governments; it is hard to say of which of the two governments the cords are drawn the tightest;—but there is no difficulty in foreseeing that whatever may become of either the new or the old governments of the earth, that rapine, retaliation and reverberation of outrages, religious feuds, murder and devastation, must in this island, in the event of any change or no change, swell the catalogue of human woes, augment human misery under the old systems if from the operation of events it is strengthened and confirmed, and make this devoted island a grave, a desert, incapable of deriving any advantage from any change or no change, from this administration or that, from this or that form of government; I oppose the Union therefore on the principle

that I condemn these acts, because if attempted to be carried, I think the attempt would further disturb the domestic peace of this distracted country, and if carried would occasion perpetual discord. The inventive faculty of man cannot, in my humble apprehension, discover a less efficacious and a more fatal mode of advancing any, even supposed, or fancied honest, or honorable purpose, than by provincial devastation of property, local risings, parochial murders, &c. and therefore every good man must aid in putting them down on the same principle that he would oppose an Union, to prevent an unavailing effusion of the blood, comfort and resources of the island. When I spoke of the act of the legislature it was certainly with no intention to weaken all the well-grounded objections which have been made against arbitrary power; the magnanimity of the intention effectually to crush delinquency could never be questioned, if the quivering lips, the trickling tears, the loud and tremendous cries of thousands from all quarters of the country could induce Parlt. to change, alter and modify certain measures, which call loudly for reformation and improvement, and bar the avenues to returning justice—the blessings of a people so saved would not diffuse in empty air. No, (to use the expression of a great orator) heaven itself would become the agent to receive the blessings of their pious gratitude, and waft them to the bosom of their sovereign. Beware, I conjure you, of intemperate zeal; reject with unanimous indignation any overture which would induce you to give an opinion upon the interests of others yet unborn, when your alarms, your prejudices and your fears incapacitate you from forming any opinion even of your own. Stand at the sick bed of your wretched country, and if you are not disposed to administer to its diseases, play not the assassin to amuse the minister. Be firm; resist the Union; and trust me that the same hand which has inflicted the wounds on Ireland, must, like the hero's spear of old, be stretched forth to administer the remedy and ensure the cure—trust me, the best way to promote the prosperity of Ireland is to shew a British cabinet that you are not dull and insensible and indifferent to its advancement; and that although there are several in the country seduced into republicanism, yet that there is not an Irishman disposed to be a slave. I decline entering at any length into the abstract question; it is exhausted. If carried at all, an Union can only be carried by pitiful and flimsy expedients—expedients as paltry and inefficacious as they are insidious. It is a misuse of your functions to blend the quality of juror with politician—threw the minister of England that you despair not to cure common distempers by regular methods—view not the disturbances (which every good man deploras) under every colour of exaggeration—and in the paroxysm of alarm surrender not your country for ever to every projector or adventurer, every alchymist and empyric who may be unwilling or unable to serve it. The British minister must drag down the stupendous power of France, and revolutionize America, before he changes the spirit or the habits of the Irish nation, it is impossible. In these islands you can-

not be misled in cases of any difficulty; you will find in the treasures of your constitution maxims and principles to regulate your determination. It is not a leading maxim of that constitution, that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be disposed to resist and to rebel. I cannot find an authority which says, that no case can exist in which it is proper for the sovereign to accede to the wishes of his disconsolate subjects, or that giving way in a few instances, is to lose all that may remain unconceded. You have nothing to say to the clumsy subtlety of Mr. Pitt's deductions, or Mr. Windham's political metaphors;—follow the advice of Mr. Burke, and leave them to amuse the schools—“*Illa se jactet in aula Æolus et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.*” But let them not break prison to burst like a LEVANTER to sweep the earth with their hurricane, and to break up the fountains of the great deep to overwhelm you.

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY
FROM THE
DALKEY GAZETTE.

COURIERS EXTRAORDINARY FROM THE COURTS
OF PORTUGAL, MADRID, AND GERMANY,
TO THE COURT AT
ST. JAMES'S.

YESTERDAY arrived at Downing-street, under a large escort of cavalry from Plymouth, a special messenger from Don TERRIFICQ DESPOTICO, prime minister of Portugal, with a remonstrance supplicatory and expostulatory, against the projected incorporate Union between his country and the French Republic; praying immediate relief and succour against so deplorable a calamity. Signor Pittachio received the ambassador with his wonted courtesy; but having on a late occasion made that immeasurable oration (which is now distributing gratis by the French Directory over the European Continent) in favor of incorporation of legislation; he referred the ambassador to *Foster, Saurin*, and Co. and the *Conduétors of the Anti-Union*, in Ireland, to receive the best Anti-Union instructions; the ambassador is expected in Dublin every moment, on his important mission; and it is whispered that the ORATORS of the bar meeting, several of the HOSIERS, Roger Gower the humbugger, Counsellor Bethell, and several Anti-Union city orators, are to pass the gaggling months in Portugal, where they are to be attended by proper interpreters, in inflaming the Portuguese against the monstrous measure of an Incorporate Union.

N. B. The moment the account arrived in Dublin, a reward was offered to discover the author of *Cease your Funning*; and great offers made for the literary assistance of that Anti-Jacobin writer; a special messenger was immediately sent after *Tom Gould*, who had proceeded on the Munster Circuit, and that Anti-Union

Atlas was hourly expected to join the expedition to Portugal; 5,000*l.* is the smallest sum which has been offered to any person whose assistance has yet been solicited.

AMBASSADOR FROM MADRID.

Soon after the above ambassador left London, a messenger from the Cabinet of Madrid, who came over in one of Lord St. Vincent's fleet, brought the important intelligence that the basis of an Incorporate Union was nearly agreed on, between that country and France; the courts of justice were to remain as before, that the religious establishment was still to continue; the ambassador expressed the strongest indignation of his court against the monstrous measure; complained extremely of the effect which certain jacobinical speeches and pamphlets in favor of Incorporate Unions, had occasioned; and after expressions of strong regret, and seeing that the Signor Pittachio could give his court no effectual relief, he immediately left town for Madrid.

THE MESSENGER FROM THE EMPEROR

Deplored the effect which the discussion of the policy of Incorporate Unions, had produced on the Continent; expressed the sentiment of his court highly against the projected incorporation offered by the Gallic Directory; and the fears of the messenger were considerably removed, on hearing that Thomas Grenville and suite, with a million of hard cash, had proceeded to the Continent, to expose the impolicy of a Continental Incorporation of Legislatures.

We are extremely happy to learn, that those communications had such an effect on Signor Pittachio, the Union dictator, that he was resolved to read his re-entation, and make twice as long a speech against the principles and the consequences of Incorporation of Legislatures, as he had before made in favor of that measure; and we are also happy to hear, that Harry Dundas has given notice of his intention to bring in a bill, making it High Treason to speak or write in favor of Incorporation of Legislatures, except amongst the inhabitants of the same island, as an odious jacobinical invention.

N. B. There is no truth whatever in the report that a basis of negotiation for an Incorporate Union between Great Britain and France, has been transmitted to Signor Pittachio himself, by Anacharis Clootes, for the purpose of having the extraordinary talents of Pittachio in the "Republic of the World;" and on the principles of domestic peace, mutual dependence, reciprocal advantage, and commercial freedom.

THE Mayor of Cork, Philip Bennett, has received an order for one hundred weight of worm-powders, to physic the corporation of Dublin, and cool the Anti-Union corporations; the powders have risen 100 per cent. since the order was received.

METALLIC TRACTORS.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

Mores meliore metallo.

Ovid's Metamor.

GENTLEMEN,

AS the question of an Union, which first excited your labours, is for the present at rest, I hope, before your valuable paper closes, you will suffer me to convey thro' it, some information, in which, tho' not of a political nature; the public is materially interested. I am the inventor of the famous Metallic Tractors, and as I am an Englishman, I trust that my having come over here, purely for the good of the Irish people, may assist to do away some of that national jealousy, which the discussion of the late question, has unfortunately and unavoidably generated. The cures performed by these truly *precious metals*, if not indisputably attested, would appear incredible. There are few complaints for which they have not proved a *sovereign* remedy. They act like a charm, and would, if sufficiently applied, produce a total change in the *constitution*. All disorders of the head and heart, even in the most obstinate cases, have yielded to this remedy, and for those stomachic affections, the symptoms of which are *qualms*, it has been found a specific. This valuable application need not alarm the most nervous patients, as it does not produce the slightest pain, but only a gentle titillation, when applied to the palms of the hands, far from unpleasant. The manner in which this great secret of nature operates, is unknown. The doctrine of the vital, electrical fluid, being occasionally deranged, its undue preponderance being counteracted, and the equilibrium restored, by means of attraction, has been long considered a system worthy of investigation, and capable of ascertainment. This desideratum has been obtained by the discovery of the Metallic Tractors, and in all cases where there has been any derangement of the *circulating medium*, the Tractors have drawn off the accumulation, and fixed the balance in favour of the patient. But as Mr. Sampson has justly observed in his pamphlet on the Union, which you so often have had occasion to observe upon in your paper (vide Arguments for and against an Union considered) that "*One argument from experience outweighs a thousand from theory*," I shall at once refer you to many respectable attestations of recent cures performed by me, some of them in very desperate cases, which I trust will confound the incredulous, and gratify the inquisitive. I am, Gentlemen,

Your devoted Servant,

THOMAS TOUCH.

To Dr. TOUCH.

SIR.

I think it but justice to your merit to make public my obligations to you. I was in the beginning of this year attacked with severe aguish symptoms, frequent hot and cold fits, a swimming of my head, and a general relaxation: my legs tottered under me, and I could not walk *upright*. On the 23d of January some fever-

ish diagnostics took place, my pulse rose suddenly to 111; at that moment the Tractors were applied with such success, that it instantly fell to 104, since which I have been in a state of convalescence.

I am, sir, with great sincerity, your constant friend,
FREDERICK FICKLE.

W——d——n, March 6, 1799.

I certify the above case to be true.

R——AR——D——LL.

C A S E 2.

Paving Board, March 6, 1799.

Sir J——n B—— presents his compliments to Doctor Touch, and informs him he has derived considerable benefit from the Tractors. He was violently afflicted with paralytic symptoms, in so much that he was not for some time able to walk strait in the street, but constantly staggered from *one* side of the gutter to the *other*. He tried the Tractors about the middle of last January, ever since which time he has moved tolerably direct. Sir J——n is not discouraged by feeling some symptoms of a relapse: It was what might be expected, but should it take place he intends to apply again to Doctor Touch.

C A S E 3.

SIR,

I am 64 years old, but always have been uncommonly healthy, having never known any complaint but *St. Vitus's dance*. I lately tried your Tractors, and tho' not quite cured *am much the better of them*. Sir, you are an honour to your profession, a gentleman of proud spirit, high feeling, and a man of metal.

My dear friend, your's most devotedly,

J——N T——R.

Four-Courts, March 6, 1799.

To Thomas Touch, Esquire.

C A S E 4.

SIR,

I was lately afflicted by a complication of complaints, viz. a fit of a family *Egs*, a parralisy of the tongue, & a lumbaginous constriction which confined me by keeping me always on my legs to the great inconvenience of my friends, who would have been glad to see me sit down if I had been able to stand. I have been supplied with your Tractors, since which my loins have become limber, and I can sit in a *Chair* with ease for a whole evening, which I always do except when I am in the *house*.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.

H——Y AL——X——R.

Mr. Thomas Touch.

C A S E 5.

SIR,

Your Tractors have relieved me from an impediment in my speech, and I am in *prime* health.

Your's, dear sir, *without hesitation*,

St. G——D——.

Dr. Touch, M. D.

C A S E 6.

My dear Doctor,

I was a sad object before I tried your Tractors, but am so altered that several of my former friends pass me by in the street *as if they did not know me*. My sight was almost gone;—I stoop'd almost double;—I had dropp'd a paunch, and my mouth slobber'd like a child's. But ever since I tried the Tractors, my eyes have been so sharp that I can dress a battalion, and my whole appearance has become so smart, active, and spruce, that his Excellency has made me a Colonel. I am told my friends in the Q——'s C——y won't know me.

Your's truly,

C. H. C——, M.P. Q.C. P.C. C.R.

L. C. Q. C. M. &c. &c. &c.

Besides these acknowledgements Mr. R. M——n has been, by repeated applications, completely cured of the *green sickness*. A Right Hon. Gentleman from the *co. Mayo* of a *running sore*, the consequence of a wound which he was near getting at the battle of Castlebar. (This patient desires his name may be concealed.) The Knight of K——y is under a course, with some prospect of success, for an empty flatulence; and Mr. Vand——r reckons upon *incalculable* benefits in a tightness of the chest, and some appearance of a *lock-jaw* have vanished already.

P. S. Doctor Touch may be heard of at the bar of the Struggler's Tavern in Cook-street, and Tractors may be had at the Patent Medicine Ware-houses, corner of *Parliament-street*, opposite the *Castle Gate*, and in *College-green*.

TO THE

EDITORS OF THE ANTI-UNION.

Fit pugil et medicum urget.

Hon.

GENTLEMEN,

I THINK it, my duty, through your paper, to caution the public against a quack who calls himself Dr. Touch, and deals in new fangled things called Tractors. I denounce him as an arrant impostor, and his being suffered to humbug the world is a disgrace to the police of the country. He talks, I am told, of cases where he has succeeded. Let me tell you of contrary instances. Not long since the Speaker of the House of Commons was *indisposed*; the Tractors were assiduously applied, without success, and seemed to increase his indisposition, as his complaints have increased. Sir John Parnell was lately troubled with a stiffness in his neck; the Tractors only increased the rigidity; and Sir John stung them in the quack's face; when Mr. I——c C——y, who has been afflicted for some time with the itch, picked them up; but we find he is nothing the better, and scrapes as much as before. Mr. Fitzgerald treated a similar attempt to *cook* him, with the same indignation; and Mr. D—— took his leaveings without any *hesitation*. In short, Gentlemen, no man who values his *constitution*, will be imposed on by this *Empiric*. I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.

Noli me Tangere.

THE ANTI-UNION.

PRICE 2D.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1799.

No. XXXII.

HELP FROM HEAVEN.

"The right hand of the Lord bringeth mighty things to pass—the Lord has chastened and corrected me: but he hath not given me over unto death."—Psaln 118, 16, & 18 Verse.

T WAS at the solemn midnight hour,
When minds at ease are sunk in sleep,
But sorrow's sons their wailings pour,
Teaching the woods and wilds to weep;
Beside a lake, whose waters black,
The pale-eyed moon doth dimly spy,
Scarce peeping o'er a mountain's back,
That rudely lifts its head on high,
Where the wild willows green and dank,
Their weeping heads wave to and fro,
And sighing reeds upon its bank,
Oft kiss the ebbing waves that go:
There on a long-fall'n mould'ring mass
Of an antient castle's wall,
That now grown o'er with weeds and grass,
Was once gay mirth's and beauty's hall,
Ierne lonely, pale, and sad,
All hapless sighing, sat her down,
And forrowing mused, 'till almost mad
She snatched her harp her cares to drown.
Now wildly waved her auburn hair,
In the unheeded blast that blew,
Fix'd were her eyes in deep despair,
Whilst o'er the strings her fingers flew,
The sound's, at first so loud and wild,
Now slowly soft'ned on the ear,
And e'en the savage blast grew mild,
Such soothing sounds well pleas'd to hear:
Her Druid's ghosts around her throng,
For ling'ring still tho' seldom seen,
They fondly sit their oaks among,
Dear oaks for ever, ever green;
And list'ning fairies troop around,
Whilst high upon the ivy'd tower,
The long-hair'd Banshees catch the sound,
And rapt, forget their crying hour.

For, in the saddest softest strain,
She wail'd the woes of ERIN'S land—
Ah! wretched ERIN rent in twain,
By some curs'd dæmon's hellish hand:

That eye inflames with deadly rage,
Sons against sons in foulest fight,
And youth to murder hoary age,
In Nature's, and in Reason's spite:

The cottage now she sings in flames,
Now the injur'd maiden dying,
And now the burning baby's screams,
To its mother's bosom flying:

Ah! luckless mother, vain you shed,
Thy tears, or blood, thy babe to save!
For lo! poor soul, thy baby's dead,
And now thy breast must be its grave!

Thy breast of life where as it slept,
Thy song-footh'd cherub oft would start—
Then heav'd its little sighs, and wept
Sad sighs that rack'd thy boding heart.

The thought too deep Ierne stung,
She started, frantic from her seat,
Her silver harp, deep thrilling rung,
Neglected falling at her feet.

Nor silver harp Ierne cheers,
Nor the bright starry studded skies,
The light of Heaven's unseen thro' tears,
The sweetest sound's unheard thro' sighs:

The wither'd shamrock from her breast,
Scorch'd with her burning sighs, she threw,
And the dark deadly yew she press'd,
Cold dripping with unhallow'd dew.

Here, here, she cries, unseen I'll dwell,
Here, hopeless lay my tearful head,
And fairies, nightly in this cell,
Shall strew my dew-cold leafy bed.

Then down she sinks with grief oppress'd,
Her saffron sleeve thrown o'er her face;
And soft-wing'd sleep lights on her breast,
And sooths its heavings into peace:

But ah! too soon fell Discord's cries,
Borne on an eastern breeze's wings,

Rude sweep her harp, that downward lies,
And moan amongst its trembling strings.

Car'd with a sound he did not know,
Peace-loving sleep dared not to stay,
But sighing for Ierne's woe,
He bent his noiseless flight away.

Ierne starting, paus'd a-while:
Too true, she cries, ye powers above!
Dread Discord comes from that fair isle,
Where still I look'd for peace and love.

Thought-rapt she stood in dumb amaze,
When on the western mountain's height,
To sounds seraphic, rose a blaze,
Of mildly-beaming, heav'nly light.

There in the midst, loofe-rob'd, was seen
Sweet Hope, that soothes our ev'ry ill,
Beck'ning with calm and smiling mien,
Poor, sad Ierne up the hill.

The woe-begone thus Hope address'd:—
“Lift up thy looks, Ierne, cheer,
“For know we come at heav'n's behest,
“To sooth thy sorrow, and check thy fear.

“Thy cares, thy dangers, soon shall cease:
“Thy days of tears and sighs are gone—
“Thy foulest feuds shall turn to peace—
“Thus shall the will of heav'n be done.

“Pluck from thy breast that yew away,
“Be steady, cool, collected, calm;
“So shalt thou soon a wreath display
“Of Shamroc woven with the Palm.

Words so bland, as dew descending
Lifts the drooping lilly's head,
Rais'd the fair Ierne bending,
Fair est flower in Nature's bed.

My fervent thanks, high heaven, she cries,
Be ever, ever, given to thee;
Thou'st chas'd my sorrow, tears and sighs;
Thou'st sent me HOPE and LIBERTY.

TREBOR.

TO THE PUBLIC.

THE period which we at first assigned to our labours, has not yet arrived. An Incorporated Union of Ireland with Great Britain has been proposed to the Legislatures of both countries by their respective Ministers, and that measure is not yet abandoned. A Parliamentary defeat, and the opinion of the people, which

the Irish Minister has acknowledged is hostile to an Union, have not been sufficient to convince his understanding, or to produce a permanent influence on his conduct. Even when he was mortified and humbled by the patriotism of his native country, while he was yet agonized by the uprightness of its senate, and still smarting from the lash of honest and eloquent invective, he has, with that arrogance which generally accompanies inexperience, declared his determination to persevere in a project, which he calls *right*, and the wisdom of the nation has decided to be *wrong*. The vanquished Secretary has announced, even at the moment when he was overthrown, that he waits only for the acquisition of new strength, to repeat his attack. While the question of Union remains thus circumstanced, we would be well justified in continuing our exertions, which the perverseness of the Minister will not permit us to terminate. But knowing the general sentiment on this subject, and holding the Minister pledged not to revive, during the present session, the discussion of this question, we deem it expedient to suspend the publication of this paper, until a future occasion shall call for our services. If there be faith or truth in his Majesty's Ministers, the people of this country will enjoy at least the repose of one year, from the agitation of that topic, which, of all others, is most likely to disturb their quiet for ever.

When the Editors of the *Anti-Union* first solicited the attention of the Public, this kingdom was threatened with the greatest calamity which can befall a country, the loss of its independence, the abolition of its liberties. The public mind, exhausted by those strong feelings which had been kept in continued activity for six months, by a sanguinary rebellion, which it required all the courage and all the strength of the country, to suppress, was suddenly called on by authority, to consider of surrendering that constitution, which they had so dearly defended, and of submitting the liberties and independence of Ireland to the mercy of a British Legislature. The people of Ireland, stunned by a stroke so unexpected, and enfeebled by the extraordinary exertions they had made, in defending their existing establishments, and the connexion with the sister country, heard the monstrous proposition with a kind of silent astonishment, which, tho' it expressed sufficiently the horror which they felt, yet promised to the insidious enemy, but too easy a triumph. It was apparent the nation was panic struck; it was obvious that if it were not roused to thought, and excited to view with a steady eye the precipice to which it was brought, all must be lost. Among the first who undertook this arduous, but necessary task, were the Editors of this paper. Tho' exhausted like others by those severe services which every loyal man in Ireland had felt himself bound to undergo, they again resolved to sacrifice private interest, to public duty; they came forward to warn, to animate the people of Ireland to resist a measure, which, every prudent man saw, involved the degradation and ruin of the country.

To effect this purpose, they considered it the safer and

the wisest way to address the understanding, the reason, and the honest passions of the Irish people, by a periodical publication, confined exclusively to this momentous topic, than to speak to them thro' those polluted and suspicious vehicles, the public prints, in which too often faction pursued its foul purpose, and insinuates into the public mind, rather the poison of sedition, or the pestilent doctrines of despotism, than the wholesome lessons of political truth. It is now eleven weeks since this work, having in view solely this object, commenced. Whether it has been carried on during that period, with that regard to decorum, to truth, to the honest principles of enlightened and steady loyalty, to a love of regulated liberty, of British Constitution and British Connexion, which it set out with professing, it is for the public alone to judge, and to them we appeal. Before their tribunal we shall appear without trembling, conscious that if in any casual instance we appear to have deviated from those landmarks by which we endeavoured to guide our course, the deviation has been involuntary, and by the liberal and candid will be attributed rather to inadvertence than to a dereliction of those principles which we have professed to love and cherish! Of the degree of ability which may have marked these compositions, it would be still more indelicate in us to judge, than even of the manner in which the work has been conducted. To the impartial decision of the public, therefore, we commit this question also, declaring however, that whether in that respect the public opinion shall be favourable or adverse, we shall still feel pride in reflecting that our talents, whatever they may be, have been devoted gratuitously to our country. What we conceived the crisis called for, we have done, not only unawed by the frown of power, and unseduced by the allurements of court favour, but untawarded by emolument of any kind. Our labours have been a free-will offering, and whatever degree of personal inconvenience we may have suffered from the steady and faithful discharge of a duty which we imposed upon ourselves, we feel amply repaid by the flattering patronage with which our country has honoured us. Such is the brief history of a work which we are now about to close—Such are the impressions with which we are about to withdraw from the awful presence of the public.

Having thus shortly stated our conduct and our motives, and thrown ourselves on the justice as well as the indulgence of the public, we cannot help adverting ere we conclude our labours, to two questions which will probably be put to us by our readers—The one, in what state we leave the great question of Union? The other, why we *now* conclude our labours after having continued them to the present period?—The two questions are connected, and we shall answer them together:—For the present session, then, we have already declared, we conceive the question of Union to be at rest. The Parliament and the people of Ireland have spoken so loudly and explicitly their disgust of that measure, that even the temerity of the British Premier

will not immediately venture to obtrude it again on their unassuaged palate. But if it is not long, we predict, that the constitution of Ireland will be safe from his attacks. It requires no sagacity to perceive that a systematic plan is formed, or to foresee that attempts will be made, to merge this ill-fated country in the great mass of the British empire. For a defeat of such attempts, whenever they shall be made, we look with confidence to that spirit and virtue in the people and their representatives which have been already excited with such signal success. That it is intended to repress that spirit and curb that virtue it would perhaps be scepticism to doubt; but whatever means may be resorted to for those purposes, if the people be but temperate and firm, if they can learn to forget their divisions and cultivate in unison that love of independence in which must ever consist the true and only safeguard of the constitution, those means must fail—for we cannot be persuaded that the intellect of Irishmen, barbarous and uncultivated as it has been represented, can ever be deceived by the feeble sophistry which represents an Union with Great Britain as consistent with the freedom or promotive of the interests of Ireland;—they cannot then become a prey to the ambition of any minister until they consent to sacrifice liberty to party vengeance, or cease to think that liberty worth defending. Convinced, therefore, that there exists no present danger of an Union, however likely it may be, that the persevering policy of the minister will at a future day again try his strength with the people of Ireland, it strikes us that the continuation of a paper exclusively appropriated to the exposure and resistance of that measure would be superfluous. While the danger was imminent it was necessary to be vigilant and active. While it appeared rather to be concealed than to have vanished it was the duty of those who had stood forward to resist it to continue at their post. But when the enemy has withdrawn from our gates, though but to return, perhaps, with recruited vigour at a future day, it would be an idle waste of strength and vigilance to harass the garrison with unremitted duty.

We have already said that the people of Ireland have decided on this measure, and that to the decisive tone in which they spoke their reprobation of it, Ireland is now indebted for its political existence. Corruption, however, has affected to disbelieve, and has had the boldness to deny, that the public sentiment on this question has been declared, because a great portion of the people have remained silent. But who that knew the situation of this country at the moment when the British minister so cruelly forced the question of Union on a convulsed people, could rationally have hoped from the most rooted and universal abhorrence of the measure so general a declaration against it? Could it have been expected, that men engaged in protecting their property and their lives against the attack of a powerful and disguised enemy, in the bosom of their country, at the very doors, should have laid down their arms and assembled to discuss a political topic, which even the minister himself declares to be of great intricacy and calling for cool, and

serious, and deliberate consideration? Could it have been hoped that in counties where not only a rebel force kept the inhabitants in a state of perpetual activity and alarm, but where the existence of martial law rendered every meeting of the people dangerous if not impracticable, the freeholders suspending their fears and forgetting their danger should have braved every obstacle in order to declare an opinion hostile to the executive government, and of course rendering them still more obnoxious to the severe infliction of military power? Yet even in this state of the country, convulsed, alarmed, smarting under military execution and dreading every evil which an immense military force could inflict, has the nation been silent? No! From every province, from a great proportion of the counties of Ireland, from the metropolis, the seat of government, and under the immediate and strong influence of the Castle, the public detestation of this base project has been declared not vaguely or coldly, but with an explicit energy which has appalled and defeated the most bold and enterprising minister which ever held the reins of our government. What have we seen on the other hand? What has the sophistry of Mr. Pitt, the enormous patronage of the castle, and all the activity, the arts, the threats and the promises of its numerous emissaries, been able to effect? In the wide extent of the kingdom of Ireland they have procured one solitary declaration of assent to the measure! He that in these circumstances affects to doubt whether the sense of the nation has been declared, requires to convince him a degree of proof which the ordinary course of human affairs cannot afford him. It were to insult the understanding of the public to suppose that they entertained any scruples in such a case.

We cannot allow ourselves to take leave of the public without offering our congratulations, and expressing the proud satisfaction we have felt from some events to which this question has given birth. We had been accustomed to hear the corruption of parliament and the influence of the crown made common subjects, as well for the declamation of honest but desponding politicians, as for the calumny of seditious demagogues; we knew how seldom the king's ministers had been effectually resisted, but we confidently cherished the hope that our constitution contained within itself an energy equal to its own preservation. Recent experience had taught us that the voice of the people constitutionally expressed is awful and commanding. We knew that there was in the legislature much manly and inflexible integrity, and we thought that even corruption itself might revolt from the measure of an incorporated Union. The event has justified our reasoning and realized our hopes; and we may venture to predict that it shall not be forgotten, while the constitution of Ireland endures, that the death-blow which was aimed at its existence was warded off by the representatives of the people. True to the sacred trust reposed in them, the majesty of that body resisted the power and withstood the seductions of the minister. The efforts of those who sustained the honourable character of champions of their country on the evenings when pa-

triotism obtained so splendid a triumph shall live in the memory and gratitude of their fellow-subjects and posterity. Superior in talent as in integrity, they displayed powers equal to the occasion, and their eloquence, ardent and irresistible, was worthy of men engaged in so momentous a contest. The magnitude of the question will perpetuate the remembrance of an incident novel and unprecedented in the history of parliamentary debate, and it may be useful to future times to know that the force of government was unable to bear so unequal a conflict, and that the minister saw with a melancholy concern many of his adherents desert even in the heat of battle to the standard of truth and reason. Thus, the Commons House of Parliament has proved itself to be not merely what faction is fond of representing it, a theatre for the exhibition of a drama, the incidents and catastrophe of which are preconcerted, but that it is what the founders of our constitution intended, a deliberative assembly, in which the members regulate their conduct by the conviction of their understandings. Thus, also, we have seen that common calumny refuted, which accuses the representative body as careless of the welfare and regardless of the sentiments of the constituent, and we derive a new love for the constitution, from observing both classes co-operate in its preservation.

That constitution, we are of the number of those who have always sincerely and rationally admired—we loved it not only because where it exists it is found to secure to man the greatest degree of those blessings which society is instituted to protect, but because ~~it~~ it appeared from its structure, from the nice adaptation of its parts, but above all from its being founded on the broad basis of the people, to be more likely to resist with effect, those assaults of ambition under which all constitutions have, sooner or later, perished. Recent events confirm us in our attachment, for recent events have taught us, and we fondly hope will convince Irishmen, that even under the existing and enormous weight of patronage and corruption, the constitution yet lives, and lives with an energy which will long ensure its existence. A minister possessing more power, more influence and less principle than any whom history has marked as the enemy of British liberty, has grappled with that constitution while labouring under the pressure of circumstances the most inauspicious that the imagination can conceive. Did it succumb in the contest? No! Though manacled by laws which suspended all the functions of freedom; though prostrated before a military government, which the melancholy circumstances of the times forced into existence; the Genius of the Constitution, roused by the insolence which presumed that its passiveness was debility, and its patience tameness, rose in its might—the combined force of two ministers wielding the patronage of two countries, and exerting it with the most unbridled license, was forced to shrink from the contest—they retired defeated and disgraced from the conflict, and reluctantly left to the people that liberty and independence which they vainly hoped to extinguish for ever!

E N D.

RC.



